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## Near East/South Asia Report

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28 December 1984

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## ALGERIA

### NEW ROLE ENVISAGED

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 29, 19 Nov 84 pp 5-6

[Text]

On the thirtieth anniversary of the start of the Algerian revolution, the revolutionary fervour that propelled Algeria in its early years is slowly making way to pragmatic solutions to the country's problems.

Today, nearly a quarter of a century after President de Gaulle turned over power to the revolutionary leaders of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) following six years of brutal fighting that claimed nearly one million lives, the Algerian secretary of the ruling party's central committee, Cherif Messaadia, stated: "We are now a constitutional democracy. The institutions are in place. We are no longer a revolutionary regime."

As if to underline this point and to project an image of self-confidence, President Chadli Benjedid granted amnesty to many former comrades-in-arms who split with Algeria's leaders after independence. Last week, the bodies of two founding members of the FLN, Belkacem Krim and Mohammed Khider, were brought home and reburied with military honours. Both men were driven into exile and later killed by Algerian agents in the 1970s. The president also invited the first Algerian president, Ahmed Ben Bella, to return home from self-imposed exile to a rope. Colonel Boumedienne deposed Mr Ben Bell during a successful coup d'état in 1965, imprisoning him until 1979. Also welcomed back was Hocine Ait-Ahmed, a revolutionary leader who escaped to Switzerland after being sentenced to death.

Benjedid's government has taken other measures to edge away from the "revolutionary" policies of his predecessor by loosening travel requirements, moving away from Algeria's centrally-planned economy by decentralising industry and providing incentives to businessmen, farmers and workers. For years the Algerian economy has suffered from low productivity and gross inefficiency as a result of the huge government bureaucracy that directed the economy. In

the last two years the government has taken steps to restructure the public sector by breaking up the 60 to 70 huge national industries into about 400 smaller units. Furthermore, the reorganisation has tried to shift investment resources from the northern provinces to the less developed south, which has lagged behind in industrialisation. Giant public enterprises such as Sonatrach, SNS, Sonacome, Sonelec and SN Metal have been broken up into 50 smaller units, only 20 of which have their headquarters in Algiers.

In an effort to boost production the government raised all wages under 2000 Algerian dinars (\$400) a year by 10 per cent and introduced a system of bonuses for increased productivity.

Reforms have spread to the agricultural sector, which has been a source of embarrassment to Algeria in the past. Twenty years ago the country was largely self-sufficient in food, but after two decades of economic development and two agrarian reforms, Algeria's food production covers only thirty-five per cent of its domestic needs. Because of the effectiveness of the private farms, the government has decided to encourage more of them by offering free land and financing, and to break up the 2,000 cooperative farms into smaller groups.

Algeria also shows signs of steering a blurred course between the ideology of the revolution and pragmatism in its foreign policy. They continue to support Polisario's drive for the independence of the Western Sahara from Morocco. Algeria has also

strengthened ties with the west, particularly in their instrumental role in the release of the American hostages of another revolution.

A notable recent example of this oscillation was the early indication that Algeria would host the PNC conference to confirm the often less-than-revolutionary leadership of Yasser Arafat, and their subsequent retraction after pressure from Syria and Libya.

The break from the old policies is not likely to happen overnight and officials continue to talk about the miseries of the French occupation, blaming the colonialists for current problems.

The leadership in Algiers is anything but revolutionary and the policy changes now under way are not going to be completed overnight. Officials continue to blame the French occupation for current economic and social problems, while, in foreign affairs, relations with the former metropolitan power remain very important. Private enterprise is being encouraged but the government is apprehensive about the surrender of political authority that this may entail. Nor has Algeria stood immune to the Islamic forces that have been felt in other Arab states. Indeed, the revitalisation of Islam may provide a fresh impetus to a political movement quietly looking around for a new role. In the few years ahead, the shared memory of colonialism, the still omnipresent bureaucracy and the re-emergence of religion as a driving force may provide a new unity as the policy changes unfold.

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EGYPT

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY MEMBER DISCUSSES 'FAT CAT' CORRUPTION

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 824, 17 Oct 84 pp 36-39

[Interview with 'Ulwi Hafiz, member of the People's Assembly, by Muhammad Barakat: "Who Are the 'Fat Cats' Who Are Gnawing at Egypt Insides?; in Cairo, date not specified]

[Text] Child prodigies, dancers, a mafia for furnished apartments and merchants of Wikalah al-Balah make up a segment of "the fat cats."

The administrative control agency is abolished one night, and all its documents are burned by order of the president.

A dancer who owns a private airplane spends her weekends in Paris.

No one has been imprisoned for tax evasion in 26 years.

Two million people in Cairo and Alexandria live in mosques and graveyards and on sidewalks.

Egypt has the fifth largest debt in the world, and millionaires in the country are a threat to social peace.

In the past Egypt's debts made the country vulnerable to occupation; herein lies the danger of Egypt's present debts.

The liberalization policy is out of control, and Egypt's debts have multiplied 11 times in al-Sadat's administration.

It is not true that there are 100,000 millionaires in Egypt. But it is true that there are more than 250,000 millionaires whose names and addresses are known because they conduct their business publicly and openly. There are 250,000 other millionaires whose names are also known, but these millionaires do not conduct their business publicly. They buy and sell currency in the black market, they receive commissions, and they traffic in narcotics. It is enough to know that there are now more than 20,000 female dancers in Egypt and that 5,000 of them have become millionaires. One of these dancers, Fifi 'Abduh, owns a private airplane that flies her every Thursday and Friday to London and Paris where she

spends the weekend to have fun and to shop. What is even more curious than all of that is that in addition to this pyramid of millionaires, there are more than 100 billionaires in Egypt. They too are known by name.

According to one senior official, this group of people who are called "fat cats" have lately turned into "fat cows." They are the ones who have been gnawing at Egypt's insides for many years, and now Egypt is the country with the fifth largest debt in the world. It owes 39 billion pounds!

The foundations of Egypt's People's Assembly were rocked last week when the daring representative 'Ulwi Hafiz, member of the Supreme Board of the Wafd Party, announced these frightening figures from the podium of the assembly. He turned over the documents of this case to the government. These documents included complete files with the names and addresses of those millionaires.

'Ulwi Hafiz, a man with the longest experience as a veteran of parliamentary activity, having served in 1960 A.D. in the National Assembly, had conducted well-known hearings in the 1979 assembly that became known as the "To Catch a Thief" hearings. Al-Sadat was infuriated by these hearings which infringed upon him and his entourage. He asked 'Ulwi Hafiz to resign from the assembly, but Mr Hafiz refused. Then the president asked Mr Hafiz to become involved in another political activity, and Mr Hafiz refused. So al-Sadat dissolved the People's Assembly and removed 17 opposition members from it. 'Ulwi Hafiz was one of the first to be removed from the assembly.

There was nothing strange about that to a man like 'Ulwi Hafiz. He was the youngest of the 90 officers who had gone out on the eve of 23 July [1952] to forge Egypt's revolution and overthrow the government.

But who are those millionaires, and what business are they involved in? How did they make their fortunes? What danger do they pose to social peace in Egypt? And how is all of this linked with the question of Egypt's public debt?

These and other questions were the subject of the interview we conducted with the man who has dedicated his life to this issue: he is stirring this issue and opening it up for discussion, and he is exposing this class of people and revealing their identities.

[Question] I want to be specific, and I want certainty to dispel doubts. Therefore, what I want today is a set of facts from a responsible official; I do not want a set of rumors such as those that are exchanged by people in the streets. There have been different independent opinions about the number of millionaires in Egypt. Some people say there are 17,000; some say there are 100,000; and some say there are many more than that. Exactly how many millionaires are there in Egypt?

[Answer] There is no need to guess or speculate about that because we do have accurate information about the names, addresses and business activities of these millionaires. Therefore, I am telling you truthfully in all honesty that the number of millionaires in Egypt is in excess of 250,000.

[Question] What is your definition of a millionaire?

[Answer] A millionaire is someone who has more than 4 million dollars (12 million riyals) to use in managing his commercial and economic affairs; he is someone who can turn this money around more than once every year.

[Question] Who are these millionaires that everyone talks about but no one knows or identifies?

[Answer] Millionaires in Egypt may be classified in brackets that may be defined as follows:

First, there are owners of high-rise buildings which began appearing in Egypt in the past 10 years. I am talking about the people who own the skyscrapers that are called towers. These buildings are located in the most beautiful spots in Cairo and Alexandria, overlooking the Nile, the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and elsewhere in other tourist attractions.

Accurate statistics I obtained from the engineering departments that issue construction permits indicate that 150,000 construction permits for towers of this kind were issued in the past 3 years only.

Second, there are the proprietors of export and import offices which were opened under the auspices of economic liberalization laws. These are people who have surfaced on the scene in the past 10 years. Based on the records of chambers of commerce, there are exactly 7,800 such offices. The volume of their business with banks in the last 3 years only exceeded 5 billion pounds.

Third, there are people who own large transportation fleets in Egypt. I am talking about those who own more than 10 such vehicles. The price of one such vehicle is more than 100,000 Egyptian pounds.

Fourth, there are car dealers who have showrooms, shoe salesmen and a group of people who have made it their business to set up supermarkets. These three groups of people deal in very large sums of money. Their business is characterized by a quick turn around of capital. Besides, their stores are located in the most beautiful spots in Egypt, and the cost of a store by itself is over 2 million pounds. Furthermore, their profit rates have gone up to 500 percent. Let me use shoes as an example. A pair of shoes that costs no more than 6 pounds is sold to the consumer for more than 20 or 30 pounds. According to the records, there are approximately 50,000 such stores.

Fifth, there is a group of people who serve as agents for international corporations in Egypt after the liberalization. It is known that only the well-heeled, the well-born and the sons of senior officials who are called "child prodigies" are offered the opportunity to serve as agents for these corporations. There are 3,000 such agents for foreign corporations doing business with more than 10 billion pounds a year.

Sixth, there are people who own hotels, nightclubs, cafeterias and luxurious cafes, and there are many such establishments. These people are subject to a professional tax, but no more than 30 percent of the total number of these people have files or pay even a nominal tax.

Seventh, scrap merchants in Wikalah al-Balah make up a group of formidable millionaires because the profits they make from government or public sector scrap deals are incredibly large.

Eighth, there are movie producers, producers of video cassettes and cassette tapes and, particularly, producers of decadent movies who realize enormous profits. This group of people and the artists involved in those projects have also been members of the millionaires club for some time.

Ninth, there are people who sell gold and jewelry and who are known as the kings of the gold market. In recent years their fortunes have grown by more than 500 percent. In addition, one of the stores that any one of them owns is worth more than 10 million pounds because of its location and its furnishings. There are 5,000 of these millionaires.

Then to all those I would add those people who have furnished apartments. It is enough to know that in Cairo alone there are more than 150,000 furnished apartments in the most beautiful and prestigious locations. Rent for these apartments is exorbitant: as much as 500 Egyptian pounds a night. These apartments are run by a group of women who operate as a front for a group of brokers and officials all of whom make up what is called the Mafia of furnished apartments.

Speaking of the Mafia, we must not forget that the list of millionaires includes the Mafia of the port of Alexandria. This is a complex Mafia organization whose members serve each other and carry out operations of theft, kidnapping, swindling and deception. The example of Rashad 'Uthman is enough to give one an idea of the power of this Mafia. But where do we begin with him?!

Rashad 'Uthman began his career as a porter in the port of Alexandria. In only 5 years he had acquired more than 100 million pounds!

But we must add another group of people to this long list of millionaires. This is the group that took possession of luxurious apartments and mansions when such property was being sequestered or nationalized--a period that began in the fifties. These sequestered apartments were turned into firms and boutiques, and those who now own them have become millionaires.

Associated with that group of looters is another group of people who stole the jewelry of the Muhammad 'Ali family. Therefore, the question that is still being asked today is this: Where is the jewelry of the Muhammad 'Ali family? No one knows, but what we do know is that every once in a while we are taken by surprise when a young man shows up in London or in Paris to sell a piece of this jewelry for 2 or 3 million pounds. We are also taken by surprise when a woman shows up at a bank to pawn another piece of jewelry for several million pounds. Therefore, no one is surprised today when a young man, who was penniless only a few years ago, buys a publishing firm in London, for example. The question here is this: Where did these resources come from? The answer to that question lies in the looting operations to which the palaces of the royal family and the jewelry of the Muhammad 'Ali family were subjected.

This then is the picture with all its details. If we were to add up all these millionaires, their number would come to more than 250,000.

[Question] This picture is as frightening as it is realistic and truthful. But can we add to all these people those who deal in currency and narcotics and other millionaires that you did not mention in your extensive listing?

[Answer] I did not talk about these people because I will present a complete survey of them subsequently at a future time. As you noticed, I deliberately listed the public activity or the declared activity first. This is the activity that one can observe and see on his own when one takes a tour of Cairo or reads newspaper advertisements or news about the sumptuous parties that are held in hotels.

Regarding the secret activity that includes the currency Mafia, the commissions Mafia and the narcotics Mafia--and these account for the underground activity that we have--I will go after those people too. Then the over-all figure for millionaires in Egypt will exceed 500,000.

[Question] Are there billionaires in Egypt: people who own more than 1 billion pounds?

[Answer] Yes, there are more than 100 billionaires in Egypt, each of whom has a fortune of over 1 billion pounds. What is curious about this matter is that these people are known by name. They are made up of the top people in each one of the activities I mentioned to you and in each profession. The top three people in each profession are the billionaires of that profession.

[Question] You said that these billionaires are known by name. Who knows who they are?

[Answer] All interested agencies in Egypt know who they are. The Tax Administration knows; the security agency knows; and even the Administrative Control Agency knows. That agency was abolished in one night, and the former president ordered all its documents burned to conceal all the information that had to do with these millionaires. Fortunately, however, a copy of these valuable papers and documents was saved from the fire and kept in a safe place. These papers are now in our possession.

[Question] Based on these figures what is your estimate of the number of half millionaires there are in Egypt?

[Answer] There is a complete class of people, whose number is not less than 1 million persons and who can be listed as half millionaires. These are wealthy people who live in beautiful apartments and drive luxurious cars. They are the ones responsible for creating inflation in consumption. These figures mean that there is a millionaire in Egypt for every 40 persons. This ratio is higher than that which exists in the United States, compared with the number of its population.

[Question] What is the nature of the new Egyptian millionaire? I mean what are his characteristics and his general qualities?

[Answer] Egyptian millionaires are dangerous because most of them are not producers. These people made their large fortunes under non-economic conditions.

They made their fortunes by receiving commissions, by stealing and plundering public funds and by engaging in suspicious and illegal activities. They received commissions, and they trafficked in narcotics. Comparing Egypt's millionaires today with the millionaires it had in the fifties may make what I am talking about quite clear to you.

The millionaires that we had before the Revolution could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and they were known by name. These millionaires were distinguished by the fact that they were producers. 'Abbud Pasha started with nothing and built an industry. He became a millionaire because of his efforts. Al-Badrawi reclaimed thousands of feddans from the desert and turned them into fertile farm land, and he too became a millionaire because of his efforts. Al-Sayyid Yasin introduced the glass industry in Egypt. Tal'at Harb established the cotton textile industry in al-Mahallah al-Kubra. Sibahi introduced the silk industry in Egypt. Thus, the millionaires of the previous age made their fortunes by their efforts, and they established economic, industrial and agricultural foundations in the country. But the millionaires of this age, however, are non-producing brokers and thieves; they are draining Egypt's economy and weakening the country itself. Therefore, millionaires now constitute a provocative phenomenon in Egypt. They are the ones who are responsible for the inflation we have. The millionaires of the forties and the fifties, however, were the ones who established foundations for employment and production. They put people to work and they added something of importance to the Egyptian economy.

[Question] What sources did you use in collecting the information and the documents you have on Egypt's millionaires?

[Answer] I've set for myself a patriotic course that I pursue in representing people in parliament. As God knows, I have never sought personal gain. My aim is to please God, my conscience and my country. That has caused me to have many confrontations throughout my period of service in the People's Assembly. But I have become known for that. When I was elected this time to the People's Assembly and began looking into this matter, many people in all official positions volunteered to provide me with all the information and data that would support my case. Among those volunteers were sincere officials in security agencies, in tax offices, in offices that issue permits and in other offices. These people gave me all the information they had in the official agencies.

[Question] Do you believe that the state is getting its due from those millionaires? In other words, are those people paying taxes on these fortunes?

[Answer] The state receives only 30 percent of the taxes that are due to it from all those people. The remaining 70 percent are either evading taxes, or they had their taxes set at nominal levels.

[Question] Why is the failure to collect what is due to the country so monumental? Is this the fault of the agencies, or is it attributable to the smartness of the millionaires? Or is it due to the general disorder that everyone complains about?

[Answer] There are two reasons for this failure: the law and those who carry it out. The law is at fault because ever since enforcement of the tax code in Egypt

began in 1939, no one has been imprisoned for evading taxes, and no one has been put on trial for falsifying reports about his wealth, even though the law does stipulate that.

Law enforcement is also at fault because it is only the Minister of Finance who can prosecute a tax evader. In 45 years no minister of finance has taken a tax evader or one who falsified his tax returns to court.

[Question] What kind of danger does the presence of this class of millionaires pose to social peace in Egypt?

[Answer] Anyone can know how dangerous they are to Egypt's social peace when one side of the picture, which is represented by these millionaires, is compared with the other side, which is represented by Egypt's poor.

For example, in Cairo and Alexandria only there are 2 million people whose old homes have been torn down. At this time these people have no shelter, and they are living in graveyards and mosques and on sidewalks.

Other millions stand for hours in front of cooperative stores for consumers and bakeries to buy a few loaves of bread or any of the staple goods.

At schools, universities and government offices millions of young people--and more than half the population of Egypt are young people and children--wait for their chance to build a modest future, and they dream of having a small home. But the dreams of these millions will be aborted and will not materialize.

We can thus see both sides of the picture. On one side there is a provocative social phenomenon manifested by those millionaires with their fortunes and their conduct. And, on the other side, there is a partial and painful phenomenon manifested by millions of toilers. The people on both sides of this picture are Egyptians, and they live in the same country. However, the social discrepancy between them is vast: it is a difference between the pinnacles of wealth and the depths of poverty. It is this incompatibility that harbors the most dangerous threats to social peace.

What makes the threat to that peace even more profound is the fact that in trying to deal with the budget deficit every year, the government is forced to pursue the wrong course. It borrows money for short periods of time at a very high rate of interest, and that makes our debts grow.

[Question] Estimates about Egypt's debts as well as estimates about the number of millionaires in Egypt have differed. What is strange is that this obvious difference is evident in estimates made by senior officials. Exactly how large are Egypt's debts, and what is the relationship between those debts and the issue at hand in this conversation about millionaires?

[Answer] Egypt has the fifth largest debt in the world after Brazil, Mexico, the Philippines and Argentina. Egypt's debt comes to 39 billion pounds: 26 billion make up the foreign and military debt, and 13 million make up the domestic debt.

It is this debt that is a threat to Egypt's security and social peace. It is also a threat to national independence. The experience we had in the past century indicates that the British occupied Egypt after Khedive Isma'il and his son 'Abbas incurred a debt that was then only 85 million pounds. It was that debt that made Egypt vulnerable to occupation. Herein lies the danger in Egypt's present debt. Therefore, the issue of this debt must become a national issue superceding all others. Thus, we must begin with those who have the means to pay back this debt, and we do that by listing the millionaires and making them pay by law what they owe to Egypt. At that time, at least 80 percent of Egypt's debts can be paid back, and the rest can be paid back [eventually]. This can be done if the head of state were to ask for general contributions, just as the government of the Wafd Party did in the forties when it turned the Egyptian debt into a national loan that was paid back in 48 hours because of the confidence people had in the government.

This means that in presenting the issue of these millionaires we do so to state that they must stop being an imminent threat to Egypt and its social peace and become a positive, patriotic factor to rescue Egypt from its debts.

[Question] All the elements of the picture about these millionaires are now clear. But what are the social and political circumstances under which these millionaires developed? We want to know the background of this case, and we also want to probe its depths.

[Answer] The social background for the rise and growth of this class of millionaires lies in the failure to apply socialism in Egypt in the manner that 'Abd-al-Nasir wanted. The reason for this failure lies first in the absence of examples since the free officers themselves, except for very few, became millionaires. All those who mastered the game of political hypocrisy and who were seeking power and wealth followed in their footsteps. Thus, it was under 'Abd-al-Nasir's socialism and under its auspices that much of the looting and the plunder was carried out and the class of millionaires began to develop.

This is the social reason. It goes back to the administration of 'Abd-al-Nasir.

The political reasons for this phenomenon go back to Anwar al-Sadat's administration.

The phenomenon of millionaires became widespread in the latter's administration. The class of millionaires grew when the open-door policy was set forth. In fact, that policy did not open any doors; it closed them. Evidence for that is that Egypt's debt multiplied 11 times in al-Sadat's administration. Another piece of evidence is the fact that the people who enriched themselves in al-Sadat's administration were personal relatives of the president. That list of people begins with him, his wife and his family, and it includes his entourage and [members of] his party. You can see the names for yourself. They start with 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman, Rashad 'Uthman and Tawfiq 'Abd-al-Hayy. And there are others on that list who became extremely wealthy during that age of liberalization or loss of control.

In this sense the question boiled down to one age of misapplication followed by an age without controls. In both ages those who had the ability to dissemble, to steal and to smuggle were able to plunder Egypt.

[Question] Do you believe that the socialist public prosecution which is conducting an investigation on those millionaires will be able to keep after them and make them pay what they owe to the country?

[Answer] No. Because despite all its capabilities, this agency cannot "list" all these millionaires and deal with them. Therefore, all it does is offer us occasionally mere examples of what it can do. Furthermore, those cases that the socialist prosecutor has prosecuted so far have ended in acquittals, with the millionaires getting out of prison after the investigation is completed. These millionaires take back their property and resume their activity.

Consequently, I am warning that the staff of the socialist prosecutor's office is almost turning into a new class of people who resemble those people they are pursuing. This is because they receive seven percent of what is collected from the cases they work on and investigate. This situation has created a new group of millionaires among the judges and the staff of the socialist prosecutor's office.

[Question] What documents about these millionaires did you turn over to the government?

[Answer] I turned over to the government complete lists of the names of these millionaires, including information about their property, their addresses, their tax file numbers as well as the taxes that have so far been determined for them.

[Question] What do you hope to achieve by bringing up this issue about millionaires at this time?

[Answer] I hope to save Egypt from a major upheaval: I mean I hope to save it from an economic catastrophe or from economic bankruptcy. The only way to do this is to settle Egypt's debt. I hope we can do that. If we do that by national contributions from millionaires first, from officials next, from those who can afford to make contributions and then from the oppressed last, the direct result of that will be the restoration of a sense of affiliation with Egypt. This sense of affiliation will manifest itself in contributions, and an age of prosperity and economic revival will begin again.

This then is the class of millionaires in Egypt. These are the facts about their awesome world. The stories about these millionaires are unimaginable. But that is not what matters. What matters is the destructive effect which the presence of this class of people has on a poor, indebted country like Egypt. As Mr 'Ilwi Hafiz said, "These millionaires represent a factor of social provocation that threatens social peace in Egypt." In a country that has a debt of about 40 billion pounds, there can't be such a class as this, and that class can't be as large as it is. The social and economic rule is that there can be no wealthy person in a poor country. Nevertheless, the more serious question that follows is this: Will these millionaires come forward to save Egypt from the economic disaster that is threatening it and laying a stranglehold on it, or will they persist in their shameless ways until Egypt itself is lost and with it their fortunes too?

EGYPT

ACQUITTED AL-JIHAD MEMBER DISCUSSES CASE

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 825, 24 Oct 84 pp 38-40

[Interview with Dr 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, Mufti for al-Jihad Organization, by Muhammad Barakat: "To Me a Death Sentence or a Verdict of Innocent Would Be One and the Same for the Cause of God"; in Cairo; date not specified]

[Text] "The Camp David Agreement is legally invalid."

"The views I had before the trial are the same ones I have after the trial. With God's help I will continue my course."

Dr 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman is that blind shaykh who came out with a formal legal opinion about killing Anwar al-Sadat because he deviated from Islam. This is the formal legal opinion that Khalid al-Islambuli and his colleagues carried out in what came to be known as the well-known platform incident. Al-Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman is also the foremost defendant in al-Jihad Organization, an organization whose members have been on trial for the last 3 years in what has been the largest trial in Egypt's history. A few days ago the verdicts on this large Islamic organization were announced, and in the midst of everyone Dr 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman was acquitted.

After his release official agencies said that he was living in a modest house in the governorate of al-Jizah near Cairo.

It was there that I went looking for the shaykh, but I did not find him.

I was told that he was living in his small modest apartment in al-Fayyum. I went there but the shaykh was nowhere to be found in the governorate of al-Fayyum.

Then I was told that he had gone to his students in Asyut where the university which employs him is located. So I went to Asyut, deep in the heart of Upper Egypt, but what I found there were others looking for the shaykh just as I was looking for him.

Only one man in Egypt knew where Dr 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman could be found. That man was his attorney Mr Ahmad Mujahid, who spoke for the opposition Labor Party as a member of the People's Assembly.

I got in touch with the attorney who hesitated for a long time before letting me know where al-Shaykh 'Abd-al-Rahman could be found.

After a few days the man agreed to take us to al-Shaykh 'Abd-al-Rahman on a lengthy trip outside Cairo.

It was only at that moment that I knew where the shaykh was. He was living in a small Egyptian village in the far north of the Nile Delta. He was living in the village of al-Jamaliyah, a village in the governorate of al-Daqahliyah.

Mr Ahmad Mujahid, the attorney political columnist Hasanayn Karum and I went to see the shaykh in his village.

Dr 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman was in seclusion in the home of his brother al-Hajj Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman, who is a good man from Egypt's middle class, the class that makes everything in Egypt happen.

The shaykh did not meet with anyone at all. He spent all his time praying and meditating so he could come out with an Islamic intellectual mode that can regulate the affairs of life and of people.

We met with Dr 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman at the time of the sunset prayer. He led us in a prayer service, and then we sat with him. He is a shaykh in his late forties with a thick, grey beard that inspires awe and respect. His character is a most admirable example of an Islamic character. He is extremely modest, yet extremely powerful. He is poor, yet awesome. He is extremely modest and yet very proud. This is Islam when it is manifested in man: captivating when it combines the two extremes of modest power or powerful modesty.

My interview with al-Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman began.

He said that his name was 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman and that he had a doctorate in exegesis from the College of Theology on the position of the Koran toward its adversaries as portrayed in the chapter, "Al-Tawbah" [Repentance]. After graduating from college, he worked as an instructor in the Asyut Branch of al-Azhar University. He also worked for 3 years in the Girls' College in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In 1980 A.D. he returned to Egypt, a few months before al-Sadat was assassinated

Al-Sadat's assassination, which was carried out on the strength of al-Shaykh 'Umar's formal legal opinion, was the starting point for our interview. I asked him first about the series of charges that were leveled against him.

[Answer] A series of charges was leveled against me. I was accused of using force in an attempt to overthrow the government. I was accused of spoiling public life; of owning and stockpiling weapons; of attempting to change the republican regime; of distributing leaflets and tapes to stir people up against the regime and against public order; and of receiving funds from abroad. The judge added two other charges: he accused me of knowing about different things that pertained to a crime and not reporting them.

[Question] Why was your name put first on the list of defendants? I mean why did they regard you as the foremost defendant in al-Jihad Organization?

[Answer] My name was put first on the list of the organization's members so that my role can be carefully devised to prove that there was an integrated

organization. Those who were making the accusation thought it best to consider me the instigator, the one who was in control, the leader and the one who issued the formal legal opinions for the organization. They considered me the person without whom no one took any action. That role integrated the scenario they devised and the falsehood they fashioned with the allegations they had made.

[Question] What is the legal disposition of these charges that were leveled against you?

[Answer] That is a question that the attorney who defended me, Mr Ahmad Mujahid can answer.

Dr 'Umar's attorney joined the conversation here and said, "This series of charges are related felonies. The penalty for each is death or life at hard labor if mercy is considered.

"But there was another charge that Dr 'Umar forgot to mention. This is the charge that was brought against him in the previous trial when he was accused of instigating the murder of President Anwar al-Sadat. The accusation was based on the fact that he issued a formal legal opinion on killing the president. The court charged that that formal legal opinion was the prime instigator for the actual execution of the murder.

"Thus, as far as the legal disposition was concerned, each one of these charges carried the death penalty. Even the charge of having weapons in his possession, which is an ordinary charge, would have also carried the death penalty because this charge was made under other severe circumstances. He was accused of having weapons in his possession at the same time he was leading an organization that was going to use force to overthrow the government."

[Question] What did the prosecution ask for during the trial?

[Answer] The military prosecution asked for the death sentence for 24 defendants, and the state security prosecution asked for the death sentence for 299 defendants who were all the defendants in the case or, as the prosecution claimed, all the members of the organization.

I asked the attorney who defended Dr 'Umar, "What was the point of view of the defense in confronting all these charges?"

Mr Ahmad Mujahid said, "The defense was based on two principal points. First, Dr 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman is a religious scholar and an intellectual Muslim whose Islamic activity is that of an advocate for Islam. These are the clear orders of Islam that Muslims are expected to carry out when they see something evil: they are expected to change the evil themselves; if they cannot, then they are to use their verbal skills to help bring about the change. It was in this context that al-Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman was advocating the cause of Islam in al-Fayyum, in Bani Suwayf and in Asyut. He spoke the truth whenever he had a chance. Is advocating the cause of God considered an attempt to overthrow the government?

"Stated briefly, the second point that we used in our defense and one which we were able to convince the court of is this: issuing a formal legal opinion does

not constitute instigation. A formal legal opinion is the independent opinion of a Muslim advocate. In Islam a person who comes out with an independent opinion is rewarded twice if he is right and once if he is wrong. We were also able to prove that in Islamic law and in the code a formal legal opinion by its very nature is not binding."

[Question] What about the fact that he was the leader of the organization?

[Mr Mujahid] There was conflicting testimony from witnesses on this point. This helped us prove that there was no certain evidence that he was in fact the leader of the organization.

[Question] Al-Sadat was assassinated after he was accused of breaking the laws of God. What is the judgment of Islam on a ruler who deviates from the consensus of the nation and the teachings of the True Religion?

[Answer] Islam thinks that a ruler who commits an act that deviates from religion is guilty of disobeying God. If a ruler does not rule according to the Book of God and if he spurns the law of Islam, then he may be truly regarded as an unjust non-believer and a sinful ruler. This is in accordance with what God Almighty said, "Unbelievers are those who do not judge in accordance with Allah's revelations... Transgressors are those that do not judge in accordance with Allah's revelations... Evil-doers are those that do not base their judgments on Allah's revelations" [al-Ma'idah: 44, 45, 47].

Scholars have said different things about to whom these verses were addressed. Some said that these verses were revealed to the Jews and addressed to them; others said they were revealed to Christians; and still others said they were revealed to Muslims.

What we say is that at the very least they are binding on Muslims because they deal with a definite command and an unequivocal duty: Muslims have to make judgments in accordance with God's revelations.

And even if these verses were revealed to Jews and Christians, if they were told that he whose judgments are not made in accordance with God's law is a non-believer, a transgressor and an evil-doer, what are Muslims to be told? Logic would dictate that Muslims would have to be told the same thing or more. Jews and Christians are not going to be told that he whose judgments are not made in accordance with God's law is a non-believer, a transgressor and an evil-doer when Muslims are not told the same thing. Islam is the last of the revealed religions. It is the rest of God's law. It is therefore more deserving and more fitting that that provision be in Islam and be established in it. Islam is the lasting law that is more deserving of being carried out; it should be carried out with more care than a temporary, non-lasting law that had its time and its age.

If we were to say that in the non-lasting law that he who breaks that law is a transgressor, an evil-doer and a non-believer, wouldn't it make more sense so say the same thing and more in the lasting law? He who departs from the lasting law is definitely more deserving of being considered a transgressor and an evil-doer.

It is said that it is the Jews who are being addressed and talked about here in these and subsequent verses. "There is guidance, and there is light in the Torah which We have revealed" [al-Ma'idah: 44]. To people who say this we say, "You have to read on." After mentioning that prophets, rabbis and divines made judgments in accordance with God's scriptures which "had been committed to their keeping and to which they themselves were witnesses," God addressed Muslims to show them that they are not to fear and not to be moved by the desire to deviate from the law of God. "Have no fear of man; fear Me, and do not sell My revelations for a paltry end" [al-Ma'idah: 44]. After talking about the Jews and about the book that He revealed to His prophet Moses, God addressed this statement to Muslims. He told them not to let their fear of rulers, their fear of torture and their awe of man keep them from fearing God and from carrying out his judgment. Your desire for worldly goods that the powerful have and that they can give you in exchange for God's revelations should not keep you from ruling in favor of God's law. "Have no fear of man; fear Me, and do not sell My revelations for a paltry end." No matter how high or exorbitant the price may seem, it is paltry because the whole world is ephemeral; it is bare and will be reclaimed by God. Soon this world will end, and in a matter of moments it will vanish and cease to exist. Therefore, no matter how much of the world's riches and its glory a person takes, all of it is paltry and should not induce him to sell the revelations of God.

And even if these verses were revealed to the Jews, their moral lies in the totality of what is said and not in the specific occasion for them. Many of the Prophet's companions thought these verses were revealed to Muslims to guide them to make judgments in accordance with God's scriptures. This view is supported by what God Almighty said, "But they will not--I swear by your Lord--they will not be true believers until they seek your arbitration in their disputes. Then they will not doubt the justice of your verdicts and will submit to you entirely" [al-Nisa': 65]. God Almighty also said, "And to you We have revealed the Book with the truth. It confirms the Scriptures which came before it and stands as a guardian over them. Therefore give judgment among men in accordance with Allah's revelations and do not yield to their fancies or swerve from the truth that has been made known to you" [al-Ma'idah: 48]. God Almighty also said, "Pronounce judgment among them in accordance with Allah's revelations and do not be led by their desires. Take heed lest they should turn you away from a part of that which Allah has revealed to you" [al-Ma'idah: 49]. God Almighty also said, "Is it pagan laws they wish to be judged by? Who is a better judge than Allah for men whose faith is firm?" [al-Ma'idah: 5-].

God explained the attitude of hypocrites when they are called to adhere to God's scriptures but they turn away from carrying out what the scriptures say. "They declare: 'We believe in Allah and His apostle and obey them both.' But no sooner do they utter these words than some of them turn their backs. Surely these are no believers. And when they are called to Allah and His apostle that he may judge between them, some turn away....

"But when true believers are called to Allah and His apostle that he may pass judgment upon them, their only reply is: 'We hear and obey.' Such men shall surely prosper." [al-Nur: 48, 50].

All these verses leave absolutely no room for doubt that there is any confusion

because they make it clear what God's judgment is of those who do not make judgments in accordance with God's scriptures.

If you wanted to provide details of this case to readers of AL-YAMAMAH, you may refer to the minutes if the court sessions. More than 20 pieces of evidence were offered to show that he who does not make judgments according to what God has revealed is a transgressor and an evil-doer. The evidence showed that these verses were revealed to Muslims. Therefore, such a ruler should be neither heard nor obeyed. In fact, he must be disobeyed, and people must dissent from him since he does not apply the scriptures of God.

[Question] This is the judgment of Islam on those who do not apply the scriptures of God. What does Islam say about peace with Israel?

[Answer] Peace with Israel is legally impermissible. It is also impermissible to make any treaty with Israel. The peace treaty and the Camp David Accords that al-Sadat signed between Egypt and Israel are legally quite invalid.

[Question] Why is that?

[Answer] Because Israel is occupying land that belongs to Muslims, and Islam in this case requires us to take action to fight a holy war against Israel, not to make peace with it.

[Question] Although you were the foremost defendant in the organization, you have been acquitted. You were also faced with quite a series of accusations. A conviction on any one of these charges would have resulted in the death penalty. Did you expect to be acquitted?

[Answer] I would like to say one thing. To me an innocent verdict would have been like a prison term and like the death penalty. To me everything is the same as long as it is done for the cause of God. I would not have felt differently at all if I had been given the death penalty instead of being acquitted.

[Question] Will you resume your public life, doing what you used to do before the assassination incident and the trial?

[Answer] I will go back to doing what I was doing. I will preach among people, and I will advocate the cause of God, calling upon Him for help. I will proceed on that course, God willing, with steadfastness and with more power than I had before the trial. I know now for certain, more than I did before, that God defends those who believe. God grants victory to those who champion their faith. "But whoever helps Allah shall be helped by Him. Allah is powerful and mighty" [al-Hajj: 40]. "Allah has decreed: 'I will surely triumph, Myself and My apostles.' Powerful is Allah and Mighty" [al-Mujadilah: 21].

Therefore, this is a matter of duty, and it must be steadfastly upheld and continued. Any departure from that path constitutes dereliction of one's duty to uphold God's religion and the banner of Islam.

[Question] What is your employment situation now?

[Answer] I am one of those university professors who were removed from the university by al-Sadat after the well-known September incidents. I was told when I was in prison that I would be given a job in the Ministry of Local Government. But In reality I am not working now, and I don't know what a professor in exegesis like me can do in this ministry of local government.

[Question] We were all stunned by the verdicts that were handed down by the courts to the members of al-Jihad Organization. It is enough that you yourself were acquitted and that none of the defendants was given a death sentence. What do these verdicts represent to you? Did they surprise you too?

[Answer] Many of our colleagues who were sentenced to life in prison were taken by surprise because they had expected the death penalty. One of our co-defendants in the case wept when he was given a prison sentence and exclaimed, "I lost my chance to die for the cause of God."

[Question] Do these sentences truly indicate that the courts in Egypt are just. as it is always being said?

[Answer] From our point of view the format in which these courts acted violates Islamic law. However, the verdicts that were handed down by the court in the context of the man-made laws in whose framework the court acts indicate that the court is a just court that refuses to yield to any outside pressure or influence.

[Question] Do you still subscribe to the same opinions you had before the trial and before the assassination of al-Sadat? I mean are your opinions after the trial the same opinions that you had before?

[Answer] I still subscribe to the same opinions. The opinions I have after the trial are the same ones I had before the trial. I can say that my opinions have become more steadfast and more forceful. In fact, the trial persuaded me that it is my duty to do more to advocate the cause of God and that it is my duty to explain to people even more the grandeur of Islamic law. It is also my duty to demand that rulers apply this law.

[Question] There are now opposition parties and government parties on the scene of political activity in Egypt. Opposition parties took your side during the trials. What do you think about these opposition parties or about the experience of having multiple parties in Egypt in general?

[Answer] In Islam there are no multiple parties, and there are no supporting parties or opposition parties. There are only two parties in Islam: the party of God and that of the devil. The party that believes in the Book of God and asks that judgments be made according to it is the party of God. If it asks for anything else is the party of the devil. This is not a distinction that we made up; this is a distinction that comes from God.

God Almighty said, "Satan has gained possession of them and caused them to forget Allah's warning. They are the confederates of Satan; Satan's confederates shall assuredly be lost" [al-Mujadilah: 19].

"You shall find no believers in Allah and the Last Day on friendly terms with those who oppose Allah and His apostle, even though they be their fathers, their sons, their brothers or their nearest kindred... They are the confederates of Allah: and Allah's confederates shall surely triumph" [al-Mujadilah: 22].

The Koran defined who are the confederates of Allah: "Those who seek the friendship of Allah, His apostle, and the faithful must know that Allah's followers are sure to triumph" [al-Ma'idah: 56].

According to the text of the Koran there are two parties: the party of God and the party of the devil. Those who apply [the laws of] the Book of God make up the party of God, and those who apply other laws make up the party of the devil. You may apply this rule to the many parties that can be found in Egypt now, and you will have the answer.

[Question] Can you define for us the characteristics of an Islamic regime in society as you see them?

[Answer] In an Islamic system the book of God would not be a book of verses that people merely read. Instead, every verse must be applied and every expression in the Koran and the Tradition must be carried out. We must make our lives conform to the Islamic view in accordance with what God has decreed. Thus, everything in our lives--our homes, our streets, our schools and our courts--must conform to the Islamic view. Every part of society anywhere must conform. This means that all of life must proceed according to Islam since Islam did cover all aspects of life and did not leave anything out. Everything is included in the universal Islamic system. What we want is for people's lives to be regulated by Islam. We do not want Islamic law to be one of the sources of legislation. Instead, the munificent law of Islam must be the only source for legislation.

I asked al-Shaykh Dr 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman as I concluded this interview, "What will you be doing these days?"

[Answer] I will go back to my small house in al-Fayyum and resume my activities as an advocate for the cause of God.

[Question] What was the most important news you heard after you were released?

[Answer] God blessed me with a child, and I have given his life for the cause of God.

[Question] Will you go back to teach in the university?

[Answer] That would require filing a law suit against the government for reinstatement.

[Question] What do you dream of now?

[Answer] I dream of visiting the holy city of Mecca so I can cleanse my soul and my heart in God's holy city after the years of the trial.

EGYPT

BRIEFS

CAIRO NEW PRESS CENTER--The press center for representatives of the press from all over the world in the Middle East area has been moved from Beirut to Cairo. This was confirmed by an informed media source according to whom more than 300 foreign correspondents now live on a permanent basis in the Egyptian capital. American correspondents make up the largest group; they are followed by the Germans and the Japanese. The French make up the smallest group of European correspondents. It is the opinion of that source that numerous factors played a role in the process that is keeping correspondents away from the Lebanonae capital and taking them to the Egyptian capital. Among these factors are the departure of the PLO from Beirut; the shift in significant events; the facilities that are offered by Cairo; and the security factor as well. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 403, 10 Nov 84 p 12] 8592

CSO: 4504/110

OIL MINISTER REPORTS ON NEW PIPELINE PROJECTS

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 25, 8 Oct 84 pp 7-8

[Text]

After four years of economic hardship caused by a dramatic war-induced drop in oil exports, Iraq has some relief in sight. A source close to the Syrian regime told this newsletter that Syria, a long-time ally of Iran, is negotiating with Iraq for the re-opening of the pipeline linking southern Iraqi fields to Banias. But Iraq will soon be in a position to surpass its pre-war export capacity of 3.5mn b/d without Syrian help.

Construction has begun on two of three new pipelines which will give Iraq outlets to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean in less than two years. The only delay in building the third project is linked to Iraq's insistence on obtaining Israeli guarantees that the pipeline, which runs through Jordan, will not be attacked. According to Iraqi Oil Minister Qassem Ahmed Taqi, completion of these projects, together with the recent increase in the capacity of the only oil outlet available to Iraq at present (the Iraq-Turkey pipeline), will boost Iraq's total export capacity to over four million b/d.

In an interview with *An Nahar Arab Report and Memo* correspondent Randa Takieddine, an influential Arab official, who asked not to be named, revealed that serious negotiations were currently under way between Iraq and Syria for the re-opening of the former's pipeline. The official, who is known to have close ties to the Syrian regime, says the Iraqis have offered to share oil export revenues from the pipeline with Damascus in return for the re-opening of the oil route. Under pre-war arrangements, Syria only received transit fees from the Iraqis. The Syrian regime, which is currently under severe economic pressure, is said to be seriously considering the offer.

Commenting on the probability of an agreement between the two countries, the Arab official said the door was open for discussion although the political climate between Iraq and Syria was not really conducive to successful mediation. The official hinted that the United States was involved in the mediation efforts, along with an Arab ally (presumably Saudi

**Arabia) with friendly ties to both Syria and Iraq.**

Even if those mediation efforts prove to be fruitless, Iraq is on its way to increasing its oil export levels which dipped to 900,000 b/d after its Gulf terminals were destroyed by Iran at the outset of the war. Already, the addition of five pumping stations to the Iraq-Turkey pipeline (with an outlet on the Mediterranean port of Yumurtalik) has increased that route's capacity to one million b/d.

Moreover, in less than a year, the first phase of the Iraq-Saudi pipeline will be completed. The capacity of the 640-kmn pipeline is estimated at 500,000 b/d. The \$508mn project is being built by an Italian-French consortium which includes Saipem Spa, Snam Progetti and Siderexport of Italy as well as Spie Capag of France. The contract to build the second phase of the pipeline, which will run parallel to the first, will be signed in the upcoming months. Projected capacity of the second 960-km pipeline: 1.05mn b/d.

Plans to build a pipeline running from Iraq to Jordan's port of Aqaba are also completed and await "protection guarantees" from Israel. The American Bechtel corporation is involved in the building of the \$970mn pipeline which has a projected daily capacity of 500,000 barrels.

A third pipeline running through Turkey is due to be completed within 18 months. Once completed it will carry about 600,000 b/d of Iraqi crude.

CSO: 4400/39

VOICE OF LEBANON DIRECTOR TAKES AL-JUMAYYIL CABINET POST

Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English No 633, 10-16 Sep 84 pp 48-53

[Article by Donna Abun-Nasr]

[Text] The death of Sheikh Pierre Gemayel, founder of the Kataeb (Phalangist) Party, Lebanon's most powerful Christian political organization, and its leader for almost half a century until his death on August 28, has left a void in Lebanese life which no one man can hope to fill.

This is the view of Joseph el-Hachem, director of the Phalangist Party's "Voice of Lebanon" radio and long a prominent figure in party affairs, who has now been appointed to take Pierre Gemayel's place in the cabinet, where until the day of his death he held the portfolios of communications and health.

"I am not a successor to Pierre Gemayel," el-Hachem told me in an interview for Monday Morning on the eve of his appointment last week. "I see myself as continuing Pierre Gemayel's role...hoping that, with the support of others, I may to some extent succeed in carrying on what he began."

Was it true, I asked him, that his appointment had been designed to counter-balance the influence of certain elements or "trends" within the party in an attempt to keep them, as far as possible, out of the limelight? He however denied the existence of any such "trends" in the party, noting that Sheikh Pierre's death had created "a greater unity of stands and objectives in party ranks "than ever before."

Were there conflicts of points of view, I asked, between the Phalangist Party and its military arm, the Lebanese Forces?

"There might be differences in points of view," he thought, "which is natural in all organizations that practice democracy... (But) we have all agreed that we (Phalangists and members of the Lebanese Forces) will be under the mother organization, the Lebanese Kataeb," and "to continue the struggle to save Lebanon."

What of Phalangist Party relations with former President Camille Chamoun? Was the Phalangist program for the return of displaced people to their homes in contradiction with that of Chamoun, I wondered.

El-Hachem replied by noting the existence of "positive competition" between the two on this matter, pointing out however, without elaboration, that there had been "obligations that were not fulfilled." But there were no contradictions of purpose between the Phalangist Party and Chamoun, he said; the two had the same aim, though the means to achieve it might differ.

El-Hachem had strong words for the discordant stands being taken by certain members of the cabinet. "I have never seen such conflicting views within a cabinet," he declared. "One cannot conceive how it is that some ministers are against the regime while at the same time being part of it." Nor had he himself any intention of contributing to the discord: "I haven't been made a cabinet minister to deal blows," although, he admitted, "every man has his own principles, which he defends."

How did he see Lebanon's relations with Syria, now the Lebanese government's chief backer in its struggle to reunify the country?

"I know Syria is serious in its support of the..Lebanese authorities," he affirmed, qualifying this, however, by wondering "how much we can ask of Syria at the moment and in this situation," in the light of Syria's aim of achieving a strategic balance with Israel.

Turning to internal Phalangist Party matters, el-Hachem told me that the party's general law provided for the formal election within two months of a successor to Sheikh Pierre as party president. Until that time, Dr. Elie Karameh, now acting head of the party, would be simply "vice-president, exercising the powers of president."

Following is a translation of the full interview, which was conducted in Arabic:

What was your reaction when you learned of your appointment as the successor to the great man who has just left us?

I am not a successor to Pierre Gemayel; no one can fill the void that his death has left. I see myself as continuing, to the best of my ability, Pierre Gemayel's role--his message, his principles, and his political line or program. Pierre Gemayel was a man of national stature, and no one can fill the void he left. I hope that, with the support of the different groups I cooperate with, I will succeed, to some extent, in carrying on what Pierre Gemayel began.

You mention Pierre Gemayel's program. What is the program you will be following as a member of the cabinet?

On the political level everyone is familiar with the teachings of Pierre Gemayel. He strove for perfection. His stand was based on principles, as was evident during the events of the past. Pierre Gemayel was the first to call for the unity and independence of Lebanon. He fought for Lebanon and he underwent a baptism of blood in his struggle for a unified Lebanon. He was imprisoned for leading demonstrations for independence. Therefore, ever since Pierre Gemayel started his political activities and national work, he

labored to preserve the independence of Lebanon and its frontiers. The cultural formula for Lebanon, which he placed on the same level as the (importance of) the alphabet, is: a democratic Lebanon, a free Lebanon, a human Lebanon, a Lebanon where the different confessions interact.

These were the principal mottoes that Pierre Gemayel launched and for which he struggled till his death, and which we are dedicated to pursuing with sincerity and honesty and to the best of our ability.

It is reported that your appointment to this office has caused frictions with President Camille Chamoun and Minister Walid Junblatt because, as a native of the Shouf, your appointment is out of line with traditional political practice. What's your comment.

"Caused frictions"? I don't think so, because the Phalangist Party had every right to choose its candidate for the cabinet, just as all the other parties did. People ask whether there is an atmosphere of "clashes" (in the cabinet); why should there be one? There are specific principles, specific stands, and specific positions. On my first day as minister, I say that I have not been appointed to raise disputed issues.

There are certain things we cannot accept, however. The least of these things is the lack of unity of ranks within the government. I have never seen, in the history of democratic governments, such conflicting views within a cabinet. One cannot conceive how it is that some ministers are against the regime while at the same time being part of it. We cannot conceive of certain things that happened lately without pointing to them specifically.

Of course, there are certain matters which if we defended them we would be defending the rights of the Lebanese citizen, we would be defending Lebanese legitimacy.

It is said that one of the reasons which made you eligible for this office is that you will stand in the way of political programs which ministers Berri and Jumblatt will propose when the issue of political changes is raised. Another reason is said to be that there are certain matters on which President Gemayel cannot speak out, so you were chosen to speak out on them. What's your comment?

No, never. I haven't been made a cabinet minister to be a "boxer," i.e., to deal blows. Of course, every man has his own point of view and principles, which he defends. There are the rights of the country and the rights of the citizen.

We are asked what our political proposals will be. The proposal (made at the Lausanne conference) for the setting up of a constituent assembly (which will include the effective forces on the ground) to study political reforms and reach a formula that will guarantee its acceptance by all factions--this is what we're trying to accomplish.

Why was the name of MP Dr. George Saadeh suggested for the cabinet post you now occupy, and then withdrawn? Is it true that his appointment would have caused friction with the "North," especially with former President Suleiman Franjieh?

I don't think the name of Dr. Saadeh was proposed. In any case, any person who represents the Phalangists represents them all, whether it is George Saadeh or anyone else. Anyone appointed would represent the Phalangist Party--its individual members and the party as an institution.

Were you chosen by the party or by President Amin Gemayel?

The party chose me and the president gave his consent.

There is speculation that your appointment was made with a view to providing a counterweight to a certain political "trend" within the Phalangist Party, or to keeping this "trend" out of the limelight. How would you reply to such speculation?

It's neither the one thing nor the other. There are no such "trends" in the Phalangist Party, especially today. I think that the great calamity and the great void that Pierre Gemayel's death left made for a greater measure of unity in individual stands.

Today, as in the past, and contrary to prevailing erroneous views, there are no trends or conflicting tendencies within the party. Today, more than ever, there is a unity of stands and objectives within the Phalangist Party.

It is said that there are conflicts in points of view between the Phalangist Party and the leadership of the Lebanese Forces. Is this true?

The word "struggle" immediately suggests that there is a "struggle". There might be differences in points of view and this is natural in all organizations which practice democracy. Of course, there are no conflicts between the Phalangist Party and the leadership of the Lebanese Forces, and especially today. We have all agreed that we (Phalangists and members of the Lebanese Forces) will be under the mother organization, which is the Lebanese Kataeb. We have also agreed to continue the struggle to save Lebanon.

How would you describe your relationship with the Lebanese Forces?

It is a very good relationship.

What is your comment on the Lebanese-Syrian summit of September 4? What are your expectations for its outcome?

I cannot make any hasty comments on this matter. I know that Syria is serious in its support for the legitimate Lebanese authorities and in giving help to the Lebanese state to overcome the present difficulties--the fragmentation of the legitimate authority--I mean the army--and the dispersal of Lebanese citizens (from their homes because of the troubles).

I don't know how much we can ask of Syria at the moment and in this situation. It is known that Syria is trying to achieve a balance of forces with Israel.

But I can say that Syria is serious in its support for the Lebanese state and the legitimate authorities.

What are relations like inside the cabinet? Sources speak of an "absence of harmony" and even of "internal earthquakes." How do things really stand?

I don't know whether the expression "internal earthquakes" isn't too strong or too emphatic. Of course there are some conflicting views within the cabinet over some issues, and I hope that the cabinet will overcome personal and "narrow" considerations to start work on the peace and security process.

It is said that your program for the return of the displaced is somehow at cross-purposes with that of former President Chamoun, who has held meetings with Minister Walid Jumblatt concerning this issue. What do you say?

There are no conflicts. But we can call it a positive "competition." When the committee for the return of the displaced was set up, we agreed (very frankly) on certain plans for the return of the displaced. Unfortunately, obligations were not fulfilled.

We are with President Chamoun if he is able to return the displaced to the mountains. If there are any conflicts between us and Walid Junblatt over this issue, I don't think that there are contradictions of purpose between us and President Chamoun. The aim is one, though the means may differ.

What is your opinion concerning the "advice" said to have been given to the displaced not to return to the mountains since no one can guarantee their safety?

This is true and sound to some extent--if the safety of the displaced is not guaranteed. We hope that those who give this "advice" will overcome certain differences, because finding a solution to the mountain today will be the "backbone" of Lebanon's return to normal life tomorrow--to unified Lebanon, if we are serious and sincere about what we say concerning the unified Lebanon. Lebanon.

What's your opinion about the future of the Phalangist Party after Pierre Gemayel? Have you faced this question yet? Is there anything to speculation that the Phalangist Party might disintegrate?

The Phalangist Party, and all its leaders, used to depend on Pierre Gemayel. Today, the efforts will be increased and there will be stronger insistence on the continuation of Pierre Gemayel's "process" through the organization which he set up. His absence, bitter though it is, will act as a spur to the Phalangist leadership so that Pierre Gemayel will be victorious twice, once in his lifetime and once in his immortality.

Is Dr. Elie Karameh the current party president or is he still vice-president? When will the party elect a president?

Effectively, Karameh is vice-president, exercising the powers of the president.

For how long?

The party's general law lays it down that in the event of a vacancy in the office of president due to death or any other cause, the electing committee will be called within a period of two months to elect a president. The party will set a date for a meeting and will call on the electing committee to choose a new party president.

In the last interview he gave before his death (given to the al-Bayrak daily and the weekly Revue du Liban) Pierre Gemayel said: "I have set the stage for Elie Karameh as my successor." Do you consider this statement a kind of testamentary injunction, and do you think Karameh's election will be unanimous and unopposed?

Of course, during the period that Sheikh Pierre spent in the hospital, Elie Karameh was, as vice-president, performing the duties of president. But the arrangements laid down by the party are clear: the presidency of the party is not conferred by appointment or by inheritance; it is conferred by election, and this matter is in the hands of the party's electing committee.

Having said that, I believe Dr. Karameh is very qualified to take over as successor to Sheikh Pierre.

You are a "media man," and your colleagues were delighted at your appointment as a minister. Are you going to "divorce" your media family, leave the "Voice of Lebanon" and stop writing your political commentaries for the radio?

I am very proud to belong to the journalistic profession. As far as the "Voice of Lebanon" is concerned, well directing two ministries will take up all my time, and I don't think I'll be able to carry out my responsibilities there (at the "Voice of Lebanon") as I used to.

CSO: 4400/39

CENTRAL BANK ATTEMPTS TO RESCUE POUND

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 25, 8 Oct 84 pp 2-3

[Text]

In a week that saw the Lebanese pound fall to an historic low of 8.05 to the US dollar, the Bank of Lebanon (central bank) has taken emergency measures to prop up the ailing currency. The central bank issued circulars (Nos. 504 and 505) to commercial banks reducing the maximum holdings of foreign currency from 50 per cent of capital to 15 per cent. The new regulations will presumably oblige the banks to sell foreign exchange on the Beirut market. The new limits take effect from October 8th.

The bank had earlier intervened in the market to buy Lebanese pounds at 7.90 to the dollar. Following the announcement of the new restrictions, the price for the pound fell back to 7.70.

The central bank also instructed banks to submit daily statements of their foreign-currency positions, rather than the monthly returns they have provided until now, and to keep an orderly record of transactions involving foreign exchange.

While the pound has always reflected the political circumstances in Beirut, there has also been considerable speculation against the currency in recent weeks. The price of the pound has declined by more than 30 per cent since May, with the failure of the government's special political conclaves and advanced rumours of the new banking regulations apparently responsible for the most recent slide.

**Customs' dues remain low**

Confidence in the central government continues to be affected by the operations of the illegal ports, which are depriving the Treasury of much-needed revenue. While there was some improvement in September in revenues from Beirut port — mainly from a large consignment of motor cars — overall, receipts remained very low. The figures were: Beirut LL23.27mn, Beirut airport LL4.15mn, Tripoli LL6.12mn, Jounieh LL0.84mn and Masna LL2.08mn. Total revenues were LL36.46mn. Figures for Sidon in the Israeli-occupied south of the country were not available.

### **Businessman says sell gold**

A leading Lebanese businessman said last week that he government should sell part of its gold reserves to protect the Lebanese pound. Mohammed Kamel Tabbara, president of the Beirut stock exchange, said that selling gold was an immediate remedy to prevent the collapse of the currency.

Gold is an "idle item" earning no interest, said Mr Tabbara. In fact, it was costing the Treasury money to hoard it abroad. The dollar is strong and yielding high interest rates, while the price of gold has gone down, he said.

If the central bank sold two million ounces of gold — less than a quarter of its holdings — this would bring in \$700mn, enough to stabilise the falling pound, he said.

He pointed out that, as the value of gold had declined in recent years, the value of central bank holdings had fallen from eight billion dollars to \$3.2bn. If the bullion had been sold five years ago, he said, its present value (principal and interest) would be more than \$15bn.

He said the poor state of the pound reflected the lack of confidence in the central government, poor security, the state's incompetence in collecting taxes and duties and the activities of the illegal ports.

He also accused an "international dollar mafia" of manipulating the currency markets. The Lebanese banks do not hold such large quantities of dollars. He said the largest banks held no more than \$1.2mn each.

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## AFGHANISTAN

### EDUCATION SYSTEM ASSESSED UNDER SOVIET OCCUPATION

#### Politicization of Education

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 19-20, Oct-Nov 84 pp 10-12

[Article by Marie Broxup, Researcher at the Society for Central Asian Studies: "The Soviets' Education Policy: Crushing the Muslim Community"]

#### [Text] The Case of Soviet Muslim Republics

The goal of Soviet education is to create an "homo sovieticus" ("sovetskiy tchelovek") freed from the weight of the past and religious superstitions. For the past 60 years, Soviet ideologists, the State apparatus and the Communist Party have been working to create this new race without which the construction of socialism is not possible.

In Muslim territory, the education program was also supposed to help in implementing Lenin's policy of nationalities, the goal of which was the integration of the Muslims into the Soviet world and their assimilation by the Russians. The program was also designed to break all the ties that could unite USSR Muslims with the "Umma," the outside Muslim world. There were two different systems: that of the post-revolutionary period, and that of the post-war period, the latter being based on ideas enunciated by Stalin himself. These two theories did not differ as to the end goal, but as to the best means to achieve it. Both are still applied today in the Muslim territories of the USSR, and in Afghanistan for the past four years.

During the post-revolutionary period, Soviet authorities were attempting to create a "new man," a Marxist man still retaining certain national attributes. The education campaign was waged on two fronts: reform of the languages and anti-religious education.

#### Breaking Muslim Unity

To break the unity of the Muslim "mellat," small nations were created, each having its territory with well-defined border, its State apparatus and its own administrative language, that was sometimes specially created for the occasion. Some of these nations (the Bashkirs or the Karakalpaks for instance), were actually nothing more than tribal formations. The communist or liberal Muslim elites who opposed these reforms were gotten rid of. At

the time, the linguistic unity of Russian Muslims could have been achieved around a few ancient written languages: Tartar, Turk, Azeri, Chagatay, Persian or even Arabic in the Caucasus, but the Soviet government chose fragmentation and created new written languages based on dialects. There are now 28 official Muslim languages in the USSR.

The study of Arabic, a "reactionary" language constituting "an obstacle to modernization and progress," was banished and its alphabet replaced first by the Latin alphabet around 1928-1929, then by the Cyrillic alphabet in 1938-1939. The "modern" Muslim nations were each provided with a national literature and some, especially those that had remained artificial, were encouraged to develop their own brand of patriotism and their specific national identity to prevent any possible future nation-building and assimilation by more dynamic neighboring nations. These protected minorities have mostly been and are still faithful allies of the Russians.

#### History Was Rewritten

An attack was then launched against the Muslim religion considered as one of the most noxious relics of the past, and as a major obstacle to the creation of the "novyi tchelovek," the new man. A new anti-religious campaign was started with the participation of all Party, soviet, komsomol and union organizations. The intellectual elites and the pre-revolutionary religious cadres were gotten rid of during the great purges of the 1930's and an iron curtain was lowered over Central Asia and the Caucasus; it was to be lifted partially only around 1964. History books were rewritten, in which no mention whatsoever was made of the centuries of struggle against the Russians and of the most glorious pages of Muslim history. The break with the past had to be complete.

After the war, these reforms were deemed insufficient and there was a revival of Russian nationalism until 1953; Stalin himself extolled the role of the "elder brother" of Soviet nations. A new method was devised to solve once and for all the problem of nationalities through a "rapprochement" process ("sblizhenie") leading to the "merging" ("sliyanie") of the Soviet peoples. The Muslims were subjected to an intense assimilation program, their languages "enriched" and "modernized" through massive borrowings from the Russian, their literatures raised to a high level of proletarian art through the imitation of Russian models such as Gorki, Mayakovski, etc. School curricula were revised to include a more extensive study of Russian.

Several arguments were put forward in favor of Russian, "the language of Revolution," "the language of Lenin," but also a "language of friendship and international brotherhood contributing to consolidate the political and economic ties of the Soviet peoples." Thanks to Russian, Muslims can not only have access to the treasures of Russian civilization, but also to masterpieces of world literature.

However, more than the very real need for a lingua franca, it is their naive belief in the quasi-mystical virtues of the Russian language as an agent of assimilation and propaganda that motivates the authorities. A Tashkent magazine recently noted "the important part played by Russian in the inter-

nationalist education of the young" and recommended that teachers of Russian language and literature be ideologically "reliable" individuals.

### The Case of Afghanistan

The Soviet policy in Afghanistan offers nothing new with respect to this general pattern. It is modelled on the policy applied in Central Asia since 1920. Like the latter, it aims at crushing any attempt at national unity. National minorities are encouraged to affirm their own identity at the expense of the Pachtouns, a "dominating, colonialist and oppressive people," and of the Tajiks, a surprising fact that can be explained by the considerable part they are playing in the Resistance.

Reforms, therefore, are chiefly designed to achieve linguistic fragmentation. In March 1982, Uzbek and Turkmen schools were opened in Kabul and a literacy program is planned for other local languages: Nuristani, Baluchi, etc. Many newspapers are now published in regional languages: YULDUZ (THE STAR) in Uzbek, KURACH (COMBAT) in Turkmen, TONG (DAWN) in Baluchi, etc. Excerpts in Uzbek and Turkmen are published in Dari and Pachto newspapers. Radio Kabul is broadcasting programs in these languages, as does Radio Tashkent (its programs being broadcast in the Afghan dialect of these languages). Twice a month since 1983, a magazine (BROTHERLY NATIONS) is published by the Ministry of Tribes and Nationalities in Dari, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluchi, Nuristani and even Pachai to contribute to the "revival" of these languages.

### Russian, a Privileged Language

Since the Soviets are encouraging linguistic diversity in Afghanistan, they are certainly expecting Russian to become eventually the lingua franca. Although Russian was not approved as a foreign language in secondary education prior to 1978, it is now taught in five schools and thousands of Russian scholarships are being offered to Afghan students and civil servants. There are now hundreds of teachers of Russian in Kabul. The Kabul government press is full of praises for Russian, "a civilizing language for education" and "an international language," similar to those that are published in the Central Asian press. There is no doubt that the study of Russian will soon become compulsory at all levels, not only in schools, but also in the administration and the Afghan army.

The promotion of minority languages and the pressure to learn Russian are a traditional dual-process of Soviet policy. What seems more curious is the fact that those in charge of this education campaign appear to be not Russians but Soviet Muslims, mainly Uzbeks, Azeris and Turkmens, whereas most Tajik Soviet advisors were recalled from Kabul immediately after the invasion. No month goes by without large delegations of Afghan educators going to visit Central Asia, in particular Uzbekistan and also Azerbaijan, at the invitation of the ministries of education, universities and academies of sciences (delegations headed by Mahbuba Karmal--the president's wife--and Dastagir Pandjchiri were the object of considerable publicity in Tashkent in 1983). Most Afghans studying in the USSR are scattered in Muslim republics, most of them in Tashkent (capital of Uzbekistan), only a small number in Dushanbe, capital of Tajikistan (800 in 1983) and, recently, a few at Baku (capital of Azerbaijan.)

Many publications, literary works and school textbooks intended for Afghanistan are published in Uzbekistan, in Azerbaijan (books in the Dari language) and in Turkmenistan. Even the Muftiat of Tashkent is contributing to these efforts, since the Tashkent Muslim Spiritual Directorate has published since 1984 a Dari version of its newspaper MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET EAST.

An estimated 30 percent of Soviet school and university teachers in Kabul are of Central Asian origin. Kabul is continuously receiving delegations from Central Asia and Azerbaijan: writers, educators, artistic groups, religious delegations of the Muslim Spiritual Directorates. The academy of sciences of Afghanistan now has an Uzbek institute of research and literature headed by Osmanov, an advisor at the Soviet embassy. It is interesting to note in this respect that few cultural activities originate in Tajikistan, a republic where the mujahedin influence appears to be the strongest.

The reinterpretation of Afghan history also has its paradoxical side: the Soviet Union is of course presented as a "civilizing force helping a backward country that has not reached the stage of nation-State, on its way to civilization and progress." No mention whatsoever is made of all the cultural and historical ties with Iran, the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East, and Afghan writers are invited to forget their interest in the past. On the other hand, the traditional historical ties between the nations of Central Asia are stressed, with special emphasis on the Turk nations (Uzbeks, Turkmens and even Kirghiz). The heroes of the common heritage that are revived on the occasion of this cultural campaign are Ali Cher Navai, a Sufi Naqchbandi poet living at the court of Hussein Baykara of Herat (15th century) who is rehabilitated as a "patriot" and whose more mystical works are still censured in the USSR, and Emperor Babur, who is extolled in the USSR solely for his literary work (Babur-Namah) but not as the conqueror of India and founder of a dynasty.

#### Education Fully Controlled By the Soviets

Already in the spring of 1978, a few weeks after Taraki's coup, the Soviets installed many advisors at the Ministry of Education and undertook a complete reform of the school system and the curricula. Political science courses were introduced in secondary schools. However, they had to be discontinued momentarily in some schools after the demonstrations of the spring of 1980. Since 1982, we can say that the Soviets have gained full control over the sector of education.

The University is also controlled by the Soviets. New collegia were created (such as the "Workers' Collegium" offering ideological instruction to the proletariat), the curricula were revised. Subjects deemed useless, such as the history of Islamic art, were abandoned and replaced by compulsory courses in historical materialism, the history of revolutionary movements, dialectic materialism, all with a strong anti-religious flavor. These courses are taught by Russians helped by Afghan assistants; Soviet teachers of all kinds number in the hundreds, possibly in the thousands. Afghan teachers are invited to follow ideological training courses in the USSR, under penalty of expulsion or imprisonment.

Since education is not a goal in itself but must serve to create a new man, agitprop is just as essential a part of education as in the USSR. School-children, students, civil servants and military personnel must get involved in extra-curricular or job-unrelated activities: pioneers, komsomols ("sazman"), "friendship and cultural circles and centers," even classes in ideological training, etc. (The KABUL NEW TIMES of 30 November 1983 noted that 570 political education courses and 58 recreation clubs had been opened to inform officers and soldiers.) Refusing to take part in these activities amounts to refusing all chances of promotion or academic success.

Reading the government daily KABUL NEW TIMES, one gets the impression that a large number of day-care centers are being opened in Kabul. This is important, for the Soviets have always paid great attention to the very first stages of children education. These day-care centers are intended to "equalize" children at a level that is usually mediocre, and to shield them from family influence: from the age of four, they are exposed to the rudiments of anti-religious education. The cult of mediocrity prevails everywhere, including in the army: the soldiers selected to follow officer-training courses in the USSR are usually recruited among the less brilliant elements; intelligent cadets are denied all foreign scholarships, including in the USSR.

The Soviets and the Kabul government have understood that they must be extremely cautious. However, all the premonitory signs of a campaign--not a brutal campaign as under Taraki and Amin, but a cautious and long-range campaign--are already apparent:

- the study of Arabic, the language of religion, is being abandoned;
- out and out materialism is being introduced, and emphasis is being placed on the so-called "scientific" studies (scientific sociology, dialectic materialism, natural sciences);
- as in Central Asia, there is an attempt to establish new laic "rites," such as the "orange-blossom festival" held in Jalalabad in April 1983.

The atomization policy applied by the Soviets in Muslim territories in the USSR was successful in part. Their task was made easier by the fact that several state and cultural, Islamic or pre-Islamic, Turk, Mongol or Iranian traditions were prevailing among the Muslims of Russia. Implementing the same policy in Afghanistan, a country where the same Iranian culture and two closely related languages, Dari and Pachto, are prevailing, does not seem to make sense. In addition, neither in Central Asia nor in Afghanistan does linguistic Russification automatically imply Sovietization, as can be seen in North Caucasus where Russian is now used as the sole lingua franca although the country remains profoundly Muslim and anti-Russian. As for the emergence of a "new man" and of an "international" Soviet culture, Soviet authorities themselves agree that this idyllic condition is far from being achieved in the USSR. Much less so in Afghanistan where all attempted large-scale reforms can be actually implemented only in the city of Kabul.

We should mention that all the information used in this article dates back to the Andropov era. The grassroots infiltration policy applied in 1982-1983 may well be abandoned by the Chernenko administration if the Soviets realize that it is counterproductive.

Total Reform Based on USSR System

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 19-20, Oct-Nov 84 pp 13-15

[Article by E. Gille: "Education Under Occupation"]

[Text] "In the field of education, the Soviets made Afghanistan fall back by half a century" (B. Majru, former dean of the faculty of letters).

In 1978, one of the first Soviet concerns after the Taraki-Karmal-Amin coup was to start a reform of education. Creation of a new secondary school--the Revolution High School--where Russian was to be taught, readmission in the school system of students who had failed and been expelled, development of new curricula written by Soviet experts, replacement of all high-school principals by party members, such were some of the measures adopted by the new regime already the first month.

These decisions were part of a complete reform of the education system (see next article) inspired by the Soviet system. Secondary-school attendance was to become both universal and shorter.

Actually, one of the communist leitmotifs was that the previous regime had done nothing for education, that it did not want the working classes to gain access to knowledge and culture. "It is the class struggle that has made this seminar on modern mathematics possible," Mr Wafamal, chairman of secondary education, exclaimed when he inaugurated a seminar that had been planned by French cooperation long before the communist coup and which he had approved himself only after many weeks. It was important to show to the people that their children could now all go to school.

In the provinces, the regime took advantage of the literacy campaign that was soon launched (see below) and of its good representation among primary-school teachers (Hafizullah Amin himself had been director of the Teachers' Training School) to try and disseminate Marxist ideology in rural areas and get the people acquainted with the class struggle. Lacking experience, using a wooden language entirely unknown to farmers, shocking the people by their lack of consideration for the elderly and by their brutality, they were soon "thrown out." That was the end of the government school.

According to the Bakhtar communist agency, 1,874 schools were destroyed by the "rebels" (see also the next two articles on the reasons of these destructions; we should add that many of these schools may well have been destroyed during Soviet bombings). Another 1,000 schools were closed, as government school teachers could no longer reach them. According to the Polish press agency PAP, of the 3,700 schools of the country under the former regime, only 860 are still in operating conditions, and 130 of these are in Kabul. This shows how disastrous for the school system the advent of the present regime and its attempt at using the school system as an ideological instrument of power have been.

According to several witnesses, and rather paradoxically under such a totalitarian regime, discipline in schools has totally relaxed and students can easily skip the courses that do not interest them. A serious problem facing the students is not to be caught in a raid and sent to serve in the army.

The number of students at the University has also dwindled. Indeed, since last year, high-school graduates must complete their military service before they can be admitted to the University. As a result, the number of female students has considerably increased. In 1984, 1,030 girls were admitted to the University, and only 753 young men (official source). These numbers should be compared to University admission figures for 1976 (last figures available to me). That year, 1,734 young men and 316 girls had been recently admitted to the University proper (exclusive of the Teachers' Training School and the various institutes).

Higher education was the setting of an influence struggle between the Partcham and the Khalq trends. After various murders and appointments, the Partcham is now controlling the University. Actually, on 17 May 1982, Assadullah Habib, a Soviet supporter and personal friend of Babrak Karmal, was appointed director of education, replacing an anti-Soviet Khalqi. The University is now operating practically under full control of the Soviets who have changed the curricula of all the faculties. Historic materialism, the history of revolutionary movements, scientific sociology, dialectic materialism, and the teaching of Russian were introduced, while subjects such as the history of Muslim art were abandoned. Approximately 80 percent of the Afghan faculty professors have left the country (according to Professor Haider, former director of education, as quoted by AIC [expansion unknown]), which has resulted in an appreciable decline in quality, especially since the many Russian assistants and professors are not always well understood by an audience which for the most part is unwilling to learn Russian.

Their attention focusses essentially on sending scholarship students to the USSR. Not all, far from it, come back converted to the Soviet system. Some are authentic resisters who want to get a scientific education; others, back in Afghanistan, cannot wait to escape. The results of this training in the USSR, therefore, remain largely uncertain.

From the point of view of education, therefore, the present situation can be summed up in a tragic balance: on the one hand, 80 percent of the people live under the permanent threat of bombings and are deprived of schools; on the other hand, 20 percent of the children, those who are still living in urban areas, are going to schools that are subject to close ideological control but whose teaching is extremely mediocre, and live with the permanent fear of being enrolled in the army to fight against their compatriots. Not more than 2 or 3 percent are wholeheartedly in favor of the regime.

## Forced Ideological Education

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 19-20, Oct-Nov 84 p 14

[Article: "But Why Did They Burn Schools?"]

[Text] As is known, in 1978, 1979, as insurrection against the pro-Soviet government of Kabul was spreading, a number of Afghan elementary school-teachers were set on by villagers. Some ran away, others died, while a number of schools were destroyed. Later on, the communists made the most of these incidents, pretending that Afghan resisters were just bandits opposed to education and knowledge. These facts should be analyzed in a somewhat less simplistic manner. The following excerpt from an article by Oliver Roy in the March 1983 issue of LE JOURNAL DE LA PAIX (published by Pax Christi) may help us in our reflections. It complements the article published by the same author in this dossier.

"What did the school represent that it could thus be condemned by the peasants? 'Knowledge'? But Afghan peasants are not against knowledge. As in most rural societies, writing enjoys great prestige, to begin with the Book, the Koran. The literate man also enjoys great prestige, the man who can not only read and write but also carries a culture with him (...)."

"But the government school was established outside the village and was part of the official buildings (the police station, the administrator's house, sometimes the health clinic). The intellectuals would come from the city, wear city clothes and would often speak a different language; with a few exceptions (those who had been born there), they made no effort to become part of the rural life, which they despised. (...) As a result, the peasant perceived the school as a form of cultural alienation and institutional integration into the State. The schoolteacher was not blamed for his knowledge but for his being a State employee contributing to the State's control of the peasant society just as much as the policeman or the administrator (health team were the victims of the same misunderstanding)."

"The peasants' reluctance does not date back to the communist coup. But whereas the former regime was expanding its school network very progressively, the communist regime of President Taraki launched a campaign of compulsory literacy, and used elementary schoolteachers as driving belts in the new system. The communist State was perceived both as a 'Jacobin' tyranny and as an ideological tyranny, both as the brutal takeover of village communities by a centralized and militarized State and as the imposition of cultural models that completely negated the peasants' values. Force was sometimes used to take old people and even girls to the literacy classes. The 'molla' and especially the 'maolawi' were massively arrested and executed. And, from the start, literacy classes had a strongly ideological content: a brochure published in Moscow shows the schoolteacher writing the first word of the lesson; that word is 'Lenin'."

Consequently, we can understand why, revolting against this ideological tyranny as well as against the tightening of State control, the Afghan peasant took it out on these young people who, even though they were teachers, were still the

primary actors--sectarian and self-important actors--in the brigading that threatened them.

#### New Pedagogy Instituted

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 19-20, Oct-Nov 84 p 15

[Article signed S.B.: "The New Educational System Set Up By the Soviets"]

[Text] In 1979, the reform of the school system began being implemented in Kabul. As in the USSR, the primary cycle would from now on consist of 4 years, and the secondary cycle of 6 years, i.e. a total of 10 years instead of 12.

In five pilot schools, the new system was set up both in the first year of the primary cycle and the first year of the secondary cycle. Everywhere else, only the first year of the primary cycle was involved, and the reform was to extend year after year to cover all grades in 10 years. Every year during the long holidays, teachers were to attend a seminar initiating them to the new programs and teaching methods.

In the primary cycle, the same teacher was to teach all subjects and follow his students for all four years. In the secondary cycle, there would still be one teacher per subject.

Examinations were abolished in the primary cycle and replaced by continuous control. The marks, from 1 to 5, are recorded daily in a "journal," and averages computed at the end of each "quarter" of the schoolyear, after which there is a few days' recess. At the end of the year, the students with averages of 3, 4 or 5 in all subjects are promoted to the next grade. An average of 1 (a near impossibility) is ground for disqualification. Those with an average of 2 must attend a makeup course 15 days before the school reopens, after which the teacher decides whether they should be held back or promoted. Days of absence are counted as before and if they exceed a number set by the ministry, students may be held back.

#### No Room For Initiative

The textbooks were entirely renewed. Their quality has certainly improved, both in the content and in the presentation (paper, illustrations). The problem is that their printing often lags behind the application of the reform, which is a source of difficulties at the start of the schoolyear. Teachers complain that the curricula are excessive and do not take into account the Afghan rate of work, which has been deteriorating in the past few years (tardiness, absences). Teacher's manuals are so detailed that they leave no room for initiative: in principle, on a given day and at a given hour, all teachers of a given grade in all schools should be doing the same lesson, the course of which is prescribed in detail. This can lead to aberrations at the least unforeseen event (teacher's absence, exceptional holiday, etc). That happened two or three years ago when, due to the heat, the schools were closed during the whole month of ramazan: in certain schools, teachers

thought they ought to resume the curriculum according to the indications of the manual, not where they had left it. Too bad if that left a "hole" in the students' knowledge! The only Soviet inspector that came to visit the primary cycle at the Esteqlal school, a Tajik with greying hair, told me about his dismay at the practices he had seen in some schools.

I do not remember how class periods are distributed by subject. I would just mention that the study of a foreign language now starts in the 5th grade (1st year of the secondary cycle) at the rate of three 45-minute periods per week. Last year, Russian was taught only in five pilot schools and, as it seems, with mediocre results: a student I knew was unable to decipher a single line at the end of his first year, "as he had not yet learned all the letters."

Because students are promoted nearly automatically from one grade to the next and because the direction is exerting pressure on the teachers to promote "recommended" students or students belonging to the Sazman (the Party youth organization), there is a considerable decline in quality.

Finally, we should mention that in many neighborhoods the schools are so small that they must be used for three student "shifts" every day, the class periods being shortened accordingly, so that it is impossible to teach the whole curriculum.

9294  
CSO: 4619/11

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

SOVIET PRESENCE BEFORE 1978--The part played by the USSR in cultural cooperation remained very modest until 1978. Under former regimes, the doors of Afghanistan had been opened wide to the Soviets in several key sectors (in particular the army) but they had still been kept as much as possible out of the field of education. Not only were the Soviets not involved in primary and secondary education at a time when French, German and Indian cooperation agents were teaching a variety of subjects, and even young Americans sent by the Peace Corps were teaching English in many towns and villages in the provinces (in the early 1970), but the Russian language itself was not among the foreign languages being taught in secondary schools. As far as education was concerned, therefore, Soviet cooperation was restricted to higher education at a polytechnic institute created only in 1967, after all the other faculties of the Kabul University. [Text] [Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 19-20, Oct-Nov 84 p 10] 9294

CSO: 4619/11

## CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON SPLIT IN SHANTI BAHINI

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Nov 84 p 6

[Text]

AGARTALA, Nov. 14.

A year after the brutal assassination of Manabendra Narayan Larma by his opponents in the Shanti Bahini, the fratricidal strife sparked by the killing has brought about "an irrevocable split in the organisation that has so long led the armed struggle for liberating the tribal= predominant Chittagong hill tracts from the clutches of the Bangladesh Government."

Manabendra Narayan Larma, founder of the Jana Sanhati Samiti and its armed wing, the Shanti Bahini, was gunned down in the densely wooded Bhagaban near the South Tripura-Bangladesh border by a breakaway faction of the Bahini led by Preeti Kumar Chakma on November 10 last year. Though malicious claims against each other by the rival groups have created some confusion about the origins of the split, the basic differences between Manabendra Narayan and his rivals are now fairly clear.

A document entitled "Desho Jatir Udayesha" (to our nation and race) was recently released by the Preeti Chakma faction and made available to this correspondent by sources from across the border. The signatories, Preeti Kumar Chakma and Bhabatosh Dewan, claim that the major reason for liquidating Manabendra was that he had grown totally intolerant of dissent within the party and was on the verge of establishing his personal leadership in an authoritarian manner. The second major allegation of the opponents of Manabendra against him is that he had secretly come to an understanding with the Bangladesh Government that peace accord would be reached between the Shanti Bahini and Dhaka on terms and conditions he was reluctant to disclose to even his own partymen.

The document further alleges that Manabendra had started propagating the long-term struggle line based on the value of proletarian

ideas, which begin with an appeal to the hill tracts people for "searching the road to their salvation in the border struggle of the Bangladesh people". This, Preeti Chakma and his supporters feel was a "dubious attempt to shield his conspiracy with Bangladesh to bring about a surrender of the Bahini guerillas fighting against the authorities of Dhaka for the last 12 years."

Another allegation against Manabendra was nepotism. He got his brother Santu Larma into the top post after the latter had been released by the Bangladesh Government in 1980 on the specific assurance that a peace accord resulting in the surrender of the Bahini guerillas would be brought about, the document says.

Manabendra's line of "abject capitulation" without securing the political rights of the hill tracts people was unacceptable and when resisted, he sent Major Rupayan Dewan to neutralise the opponents from the headquarters of the Bahini, thus giving birth to the conflict that has plagued the organisation ever since.

Another document released by the Santu Larma faction recently and reaching this correspondent from across the border said the Preeti Kumar faction were believers in the "restrictive ethnic lines of struggle" and were actually acting as agents of "foreign powers and their lackeys inside Bangladesh." The Larma faction which suffered serious casualties at the hands of the Preeti Chakma faction in running internecine conflicts have alleged that the breakaway faction led by Preeti Kumar Bhabatosh Dewan and Tribangal Dewan wrecked the unity of the party and its armed wing in a desperate attempt to wrest the leadership for narrow, personal ends.

Though allegations and counterallegations continue amidst the crisis in the Jana Sanhati and Shanti Bahini, the happiest is the strongman at Dhaka, Gen. Ershad. His biggest headache is now a divided force.

CSO: 4600/1143

## CPI GENERAL SECRETARY INTERVIEWED ON ELECTION STRATEGY

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 26 Oct 84 p 7

[Text]

*The CPI national council recently finalised its electoral strategy whose main thrust is to defeat both the Congress(I) and the BJP. Of the over 100 members of the council, four opposed the official strategy and four abstained from voting. On the question of the party's overall policy, none voted against it but 13 abstained. Rita Manchanda speaks to Rajeshwara Rao, general secretary of the CPI, against the backdrop of these decisions.*

**Q:** Will you succeed in isolating the BJP from the other Opposition parties?

**A:** The BJP is the politics' platform of the RSS which pursues Hindu communal policies, especially those of the Hindu rashtra. Mr Balasaheb Deoras, the RSS leader, has openly called upon Hindus to vote for pro-Hindu candidates in the next elections. Apart from the RSS, there is the additional platform of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. They are openly advocating communalism. The BJP may well put forward a secular face but they must answer these charges of open advocacy of communalism by the RSS. We are confident that all secular parties will understand this.

**Q:** In a situation where Mr N.T. Rama Rao is seeking the support of both the BJP and yourselves, what will you do?

**A:** The problem is the existing electoral system where a party like the Congress(I) which has never got more than 45 per cent of the vote, gets two-thirds of the seats. The

system obliges you to have electoral adjustments, otherwise your voice cannot be heard in the legislatures. But we will have no adjustments with the BJP.

**Q:** Does it mean that you would be prepared to accept indirect adjustments with the BJP?

**A:** No, it is not correct to call it that. We are only adjusting with certain parties but if they adjust with others like the BJP we are not bound by that. We will take our own stand and our masses will never vote for the BJP.

**Q:** In a constituency where there is a direct contest between a BJP candidate and the Congress(I) what will your position be?

**A:** We will field a third candidate.

**Q:** On the question of foreign policy, there does not seem to be much common ground between you and the Lok Dal and Janata. Mr Chandra Shekhar is on record saying that there is no danger to the country from the US or Pakistan. Indeed Mr George Fernandes and Mr Biju Patnaik gave a clean chit to Gen. Zia when they returned from Pakistan. Mr Charan Singh has also said in an interview that in 1947 he would have gone closer to the US.

**A:** Mr Chandra Shekhar says something at one time and something else at another. Mr Biju Patnaik certainly has given Gen. Zia a clean chit but we do not think that all the people in the Janata are like that. Perhaps, the Opposition fears that if it supports Mrs

Gandhi's foreign policy, it will appear as if it is supporting her. If there is a foreign danger all of us will unite and fight as we have done in 1965 and 1971. At one time we proposed to the Opposition parties that there could be a consensus with the government on three issues: (I) a policy of peace, (II) question of defence against external aggression, and (III) the unity of the country. The only precondition was that Mrs Indira Gandhi should not adopt an anti-democratic stand. The Opposition agreed; it was Mrs Gandhi who rejected the proposal. In Calcutta, Mrs Gandhi arrogantly claimed, "It is for the Opposition to support my policies. Those who oppose my internal policies are paying only lip service to the foreign policy." As for Mr Charan Singh, he now says that friendship with the Soviet Union is a fact of life. In any case, he is an old man and he has said so many things. No patriotic person or party in our country can afford to say that they would not be friends with the Soviet Union.

*Q: What about domestic policies? Mr Charan Singh, for instance, is anti-public sector.*

A: The Lok Dal has agreed that basic industries must be in the public sector. They do, however, believe that many more things can be in the small and medium scale sector, for example, the textile industry. But that is quite unrealistic. Differences can also be expected to crop up on the issue of land reform. We do not know his ideas about minimum wages for agricultural workers. Moreover, he has well-known prejudices against the middle classes and the working classes.

*Q: What about your support to Dr Farooq Abdullah? How can you defend his alliance with Mirwaiz and assertion that this alliance helps forge unity among Muslims in the valley?*

A: It was Mrs Gandhi who encouraged the Jamaat-i-Islam as a counter to the National Conference. It was with the help of the Congress that the Jamaat won five seats. Once the Sheikh returned, the Jamaat was able to retain only one seat and subsequently it lost even that. The real pro-

Pakistani forces are not with Dr Abdullah but with the Congress(I). Of course, we are not happy that Dr Abdullah is friendly with not only Mirwaiz but with Mr Lone also. But we are confident that on the whole, Dr Abdullah will strengthen secular and democratic forces.

*Q: What is your attitude to minority communalism?*

A: In India, it is Hindu communalism which is most dangerous, but minority communalism is also dangerous. We have to carry out a major struggle against Hindu communalism and also fight Muslim and other minority communalism.

*Q: Would you have adjustments with the Akalis or the Muslim League?*

A: There is no question of any adjustments with the Akalis as of now. Of course, if there is a final settlement then it is a different matter. Moreover, we do not know if elections will be held in Punjab. There can be no adjustment with the Muslim League.

*Q: What is your principal task in Punjab, to fight Sikh communalism or Mrs Indira Gandhi? Are you not in danger of repeating your mistake of 1945 when, instead of fighting Muslim communalism you lent respectability to Jinnah by repeatedly asserting that Gandhi should meet Jinnah?*

A: The situation is entirely a new one now. After independence the Sikhs in Punjab are a majority. Their communalism has to be fought. We are clear that the Anandpur Saheb resolution will lead to separatism and have never compromised on it. However, we believe that Mrs Gandhi's policies are actually helping the extremists. She helped build up Bhindranwale to counter the Akali Dal and till the very last end her party had relations with him. The Akali leadership also fanned the phenomenon of Bhindranwale and are thereby guilty. That is why we fight both the policies of Mrs Gandhi and the Akalis.

*Q: You have made a difference between the moderate and extremist elements in the Akali Dal. Is that justified? You repeatedly asked the Akalis to issue a hukumnama against the killing of the*

*Nirankaris and other innocent people, but they did not oblige you.*

A: We believe that there was and there still is a difference between the moderate Akali leaders and the extremists. Some like Mr Talwandi and Mr Tohra are with the extremists and there are also doubts about Mr Sukhjinder Singh who has now been expelled from the Akali Dal. Other Akali leaders were not for Khalistan though they supported the Anandpur Saheb resolution. Mr Badal and Mr Longowal were, in fact, on the hit list of the extremists, and ironically were saved by the army coming into the Golden Temple. They wanted a compromise. A settlement could have been reached with the Akalis but Mrs Gandhi did not want it. The settlement would have enabled moderate Akali leaders to isolate the extremists.

*Q: Why is the CPI stagnating? Take Andhra in 1955, the united party got over 30 per cent of the votes. Now both the communist parties put together have been reduced to a marginal political force in the state.*

A: Let us not use the word marginal or non-marginal, the reality is that but for the support of the two communist parties NTR would have collapsed. Yes, we have lost influence because the party split into two and we also had to struggle against an internecine quarrel.

*Q: Has the CPI become an election oriented party, no different from other bourgeois parties?*

A: No, we are not subordinating our commitment to people's issues for electoral gains. We may, however, fail to adequately carry forward the struggle, especially in the rural areas.

*Q: Why has the CPI(M) fared relatively better than the CPI?*

A: No, it has not fared better. In any case, everyone has his own line. We have done a self-analysis of the party's weaknesses and have sought to evolve a more effective strategy that concentrates on basic class struggle and land

struggles.

*Q: In the last five years, what are the land and class struggles your party has conducted?*

A: It has largely been on a local scale and we have concentrated on distribution of government lands which were occupied by landlords. Recently in Andhra Pradesh we successfully tackled the goondas at Challapalli, and got 400,000 acres of forest land distributed among the landless.

*Q: What is the total membership of the party?*

A: It is 4,78,467.

*Q: Would you reconsider your decision if the BJP emerges as an important component in a future coalition government?*

A: Then we will not support such a combination but there is also no question of a repeat of the 1969 situation when we supported Mrs Gandhi to keep out the rightist alliance.

*Q: When will the two communist parties merge? What are the basic differences now left between the two parties?*

A: A merger is a long way off. It depends upon many factors. Particularly, no one should be narrow minded. I would not like to say who is being narrow minded. There are no basic differences but for 20 years we have been two separate parties, so it will take time.

*Q: You recently met the CPI(M) leaders to discuss the differences over the Midnapore seat. Have the differences narrowed down?*

A: The CPI(M) is trying to spuriously link up the question of Midnapore with other things. Whether differences on it have narrowed, I cannot say.

*Q: You have said that relations between the CPSU and the CPI are that of two equals. Logically, then if the Pravda every third month comments on the internal situation in India, why do you also not comment on the domestic situation of the USSR as many other communist parties do?*

A: The CPSU has the right to say whatever it wants. We are not so big as to comment on everybody.

## REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON RAJIV GANDHI APPOINTMENT

No 'Impropriety' Seen

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 3 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Sitanshu Das]

[Text]

For close to 10 years, in particular, since Salvador Allende's assassination ended the "Chilean road to socialism", Indira Gandhi had been warning of external powers' capacity to incite instability in India. She had to die to prove that she had not been crying "wolf".

India's "establishment", which includes a strong section of bureaucracy, was not with Indira Gandhi. The "establishment", which lives on hand-me-down ideas from abroad, backed her opponents, though Indira Gandhi had the electoral mandate to govern. The establishment scoffed at her admonitions and ridiculed her fear that an Indian variant of the Allende episode might interrupt our endeavours for a more egalitarian society and social regeneration.

It is difficult to believe that Beant Singh and Satwant Singh — or whatever are the correct names of the assassins — acted on their own when they infiltrated the Prime Minister's security guard to kill her. President Anwar Sadat was killed when a variety of reasons, including his unfrequented overtures to Israel had made him unpopular both in Egypt and in the Arab world. However, his assassins, Moslem Brotherhood zealots, had not acted on their own. They had been members of a wider conspiracy.

Indira Gandhi's popularity rating was high, judged even by that extremely inadequate indicator, opinion polls, when she was felled. Beant Singh was done to death by design or otherwise — we shall never know. A source of valued information about

the conspiracy has thus been silenced. But even the scraps of information we have about Beant Singh stimulate more questions about his motives than answer them.

Beant Singh, a sub-inspector in the Delhi Police, was a Mazhabi Sikh, in other words, came of a Scheduled Caste family. Mazhabis have traditionally suffered at the hands of high-caste Sikhs, especially Jat Sikhs. The leaders of the Akali Morcha and, in particular, the extremist wing are almost exclusively drawn from the Jat and other high castes of the Sikh community. The Morcha and extremists can have had very few Mazhabis as supporters.

Indeed, the secessionist slogans frighten Mazhabis as much as the Hindus in Punjab. The Sikh "bol-bala", the Anandpur Sahib resolution demands in Punjab, to Mazhabis, must mean a demand for unconcealed and unrelieved upper-caste-Sikh domination under a new dispensation.

At elections Mazhabis, by and large, have backed the Congress, seeing in the party, like the other Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes elsewhere in the country, the only social alliance which offers them economic betterment and measures against social discrimination. Indeed, Beant Singh, as a Mazhabi, should have been personally grateful to Indira Gandhi.

Since social equality and abolition of castes is a fundamental tenet of the Sikh faith, in theory, no Sikh can be a Harijan. But the reality being differ-

ent, it was Indira Gandhi's decision that ensured to Mazhabis the concessions available to Harijans in the Hindu fold. As a student, Beant Singh was a beneficiary of these concessions. The late Prime Minister's policy of job reservation for Mazhabis helped Beant Singh obtain a position in the Delhi Police. Even his uncle, Bahadur Singh, who knew Beant as a critic of the Akali higher-caste leadership, wonders how and who "turned" him into an assassin of Indira Gandhi whom most members of the Scheduled Castes regard as "pro-Harjan".

This apart, there are elements in the unfolding crisis to cause one to wonder if we are not witnessing a text-book case of destabilisation — the kind Indira Gandhi apprehended and the "establishment" ridiculed as a bogey raised by her. The sudden spread of riots is a case in point. Who masterminded them? And then who spread the wild rumour about the poisoning of drinking water in Delhi? In one New Delhi area a policeman was said to be the purveyor of this scare. Have we not read about rumours and scares of epidemics as tools of destabilisation?

Because the transition to Rajiv Gandhi has been apparently smooth, it must not be assumed that we have regained political stability. Far from it. In the immediate aftermath of the trauma his succession was facilitated by bewilderment among his would-be opponents and the enormous surge of sympathy the people felt for the assassinated leader's son and political heir. But those who have long worked for today's crisis would not let go of this opportunity which, to them, is a rare one.

A concatenation of circumstances has placed this country at a cross-roads. The Congress-I as an organisation has weakened to a dangerous degree, creating thereby a political void, and no alternative party system espousing enlightened Indian nationalism has taken shape. The Congress's provincial satraps are what they are because of Indira Gandhi. Still, ambition can get the better of fealty. These leaders should beware of the new conditions taking shape. The long-standing adversaries of their leader are now able to tempt them with glittering rewards for treachery.

Right now — it began the day after Rajiv Gandhi was sworn in as Prime Minister — an effort is being made to cast doubt on the propriety of the President's decision to commission

him to form the new government. It is said that the President should have appointed the senior-most Cabinet Minister the "interim" Prime Minister, pending the election of a new leader by the Congress-I Parliamentary Party. This, so runs the argument, would have accorded with the West-minster procedure which we followed in this country.

The objection, though seemingly plausible, has no basis either in the Indian Constitution or the West-minster conventions we have adopted. Article 75 vests in the President the power to decide who, in his judgement, as Prime Minister is most likely to ensure good government according to the Constitution. In exercising his judgement, the President is guided by Sections (3) and (5) and of Article 75 which prescribe that the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha (in other words, should have majority backing in the lower house) and Ministers have to be members of Parliament at least within six months of their appointment.

The Prime Minister, of course, has to enjoy the backing of the majority in the Lok Sabha. But, on the UK analogy, the election of the leader by the majority party or bloc can follow, and not always precede, the Crown's decision to ask a leader to form the government. Indeed, until the seventies, the British Conservative Party had no procedure for electing its leader in the UK Parliament. The Conservative MP who, in the Crown's estimate, was most likely to receive majority backing of the party, was commissioned to form the government and the ruling party accepted him as the leader.

In this instance, the Congress-I Parliamentary Board and the outgoing Cabinet are said to have jointly commended Rajiv Gandhi as the leader whom the President should appoint as Prime Minister. Constitutionally, and by convention, the recommendation can be compared with the customary consultations the UK monarch initiates before the choice of the Prime Minister is made. The CPB's recommendation was good as a measure of abundant caution, though the President would have been within his rights to decide this question even without a recommendation.

An effort, therefore, is being made to create an impression that (a) an impropriety has been committed, and (b) that the Head of State was persuaded by pressure to commit this impropriety. Both conclusions are wrong. The procedure adopted ac-

cords with the Constitution and is permissible by UK conventions.

More ignoble is the attempt being made to embroil the President in a controversy and attribute to Rashtrapati Bhawan views which the President does not hold. Clearly, this is meant to engender confusion by creating misunderstanding between the Head of State and the Head of Government. Astonishingly, Charan Singh, who benefited in 1979 from the President's discretion in the choice of Prime Minister, now questions the procedure whereby he himself once became Prime Minister.

### Experts Challenge Precedent

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 4 Nov 84 p 6

[Text]

**Nagpur, Nov. 3 (UNI):** Three experts on constitutional law today said the President, Mr Zail Singh, had set a wrong precedent by allowing the swearing in of Mr Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Minister on the advice of the Congress(I) Parliamentary Board.

Mr Avind Bobade, senior lawyer and former advocate-general of Maharashtra said the President's action was against parliamentary convention. Mr Zail Singh should have waited for the decision of the meeting of the Congress(I) parliamentary party.

He said there were practical difficulties in holding such a meeting in the event of the sudden death of the Prime Minister, as was the present case. Hence, the convention of appointing a caretaker Prime Minister was

evolved to give time to the parliamentary party to elect a new leader.

Mr R.V. Ranade, professor of political science, Nagpur University, said the Congress(I) Parliamentary Board, on whose advice the President administered the oath of office to Mr Rajiv Gandhi, had no locus standi in the Constitution.

The function of the board was to select party candidates for state legislatures and Parliament. The President had not served the Constitution by acting on the advice of the board, he added.

Mrs Shirporakar, lecturer in constitutional law, said the Indian Constitution had clearly laid down who will succeed office in the event of the death of the President but was remarkably silent in case of the death of the Prime Minister.

### New Era Begins

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 4 Nov 84 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

Seven times the son touched his mother's forehead with *agni*: A life spent with courage and nobility was brought to a formal end. All flesh must pass, death is the inevitable counterpart of life. The history of human existence is dotted with heroes, who in the course of their time have helped humanity. But even in their absence life must go on, and we must try to survive within the boundaries of decency, civilisation and mutual goodwill since there is no other road to development and progress. Fortune has demanded a great deal of Rajiv Gandhi. He has had to

touch the funeral pyres of his grandfather, father, brother and now his mother. All of them died while serving the nation. Yesterday, with dignity and calm, Rajiv Gandhi performed the last rites at the funeral pyre of his mother. In a sense that duty marked both the end of the old and the beginning of the new. If an era ended yesterday, a new one also began: the era of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

The task is awesome. Social violence has suddenly reached a level that not only is reminiscent of 1947, but often repetitive of those horrible years in its excesses. The human cost is irreparable. Now another generation of human beings will live with hearts which have been lacerated by poison and blood. Etched in every imagination will be stories of lynching and murder by mobs gone frenzied. Can such wounds heal? Even if the answer seems no we cannot absolve ourselves of the responsibility of trying to turn it into yes. The first task on the agenda of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will be to control the madness and then spread the balm that might soothe even if it cannot heal.

The blood is still flowing in the capital. And everywhere else: each day it seems a new city joins the roll call of hate. As if what happened everywhere else was not enough, Rourkela has now erupted. The industrial towns are particularly vulnerable, and the authorities there should have been more watchful given the history of their township. The killing must stop, this must be the top priority of the new government at the Centre. We must not lose sight of the fact that this madness will take a toll, in other ways too which may not be immediately visible. Can the country bear the economic cost of a civil war? Already the expenditure of the extra deployment of police and para-military forces must have mounted to extraordinary levels, and it will take many accountants to tabulate what the nation has lost and is losing in production. Obviously resources will be diverted from other areas to pay for all this.

But that is less important than the damage that is being done to the unity of our country. Jawaharlal Nehru took charge of a nascent country, and built the national confidence which enabled us to ride through those awful storms and problems of the past. He left behind secure foundations on which Lal Bahadur Shastri and Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, could build. By the day of Mrs Gandhi's assassination that confidence seems to be tottering. Never had the future looked so awful in the last 37 years as it does today. It would be a sad story if the nation built by the grandfather collapsed in the prime ministership of the grandson. History has placed a unique responsibility on Rajiv Gandhi's shoulders. We hope and pray that he will prove capable of shouldering it.

#### Rajiv Facing 'Enormous Tasks'

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 5 Nov 84 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text]

**M**align forces have combined to place on Mr Rajiv Gandhi, the new Prime Minister, an extraordinary burden. Conspirators, manipulated by the external enemies of India, managed to infiltrate the security wing of the government and kill the late Prime Minister in her home. This is an unparalleled crime, the like of which has been rare-

ly known in contemporary history. Indeed, the success of the conspirators should be seen as a measure of the infiltration the enemies of India have made in the state organs. The new Prime Minister has to function through these state organs. Indian fatalism and misplaced liberalism should not be allowed to obscure the evil ramifications the conspirators appear to have spread in the state organs. The baffling ineptitude the senior officials displayed in combating the lawlessness in Delhi has revealed another aspect of the challenge Mr Rajiv Gandhi has to overcome.

He has taken office at a tragic time, and evil internal and external forces have begun to act in concert to undermine his authority, swerve him from assertive independence. Already, mischievous attempts have been set in motion to create confusion on policies for which Indira Gandhi had to pay with her life. It is just as well that the Congress-I Parliamentary Party has expressed in a unanimous resolution what was a foregone conclusion — that Mr Rajiv Gandhi alone can muster the party's full backing. There was none who could have counted on the party's undivided support. The President's choice of Mr Rajiv Gandhi accorded with what Giani Zail Singh could do in his presidential discretion. Furthermore, it is evident that the President had correctly read the mind of the Congress-I Party. It is most unlikely that the new Prime Minister will get the time, which is customarily allowed to new heads of government, to consolidate his government's position. The situation is moving fast and all efforts will be made to weaken him before he can take control of the party and the government. It is not going to be easy for him to decide how much deadwood he can cast away and how a balance is to be struck between the old and the new in his government at various levels.

All, who wish him well and see in him the leader who is most likely to carry forward the policies for which Indira Gandhi gave her life, are convinced that he can be both firm and flexible. By ordering instant changes in Delhi's administration he has demonstrated a streak of decisiveness which people in times of crisis expected from his mother. He will have to take a close look at the government machinery through which he must function in administrative matters. It is necessary to uncover the extent to which this machinery has been vitiated by moles and agents of the enemies of India. There need be no witch-hunt, neither should doubtful elements be allowed to burrow themselves in sensitive sectors. Those, whose responsibility it was to organise the Prime Minister's security but were guilty of dereliction of duty, should not be allowed to hide under bureaucratic anonymity and escape punishment. The magnitude of the tasks that must receive his immediate attention is enormous, instruments inadequate, and time short. But we have little doubt that the country will give Mr Rajiv Gandhi a massive support in the discharge of his onerous responsibilities.

#### Message from RSS Chief

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Nov 84 p 7

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 5  
1. The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh chief  
Mr. Bala Saheb Deoras has expressed his  
'deep feelings of anguish' at the assassination  
of Indira Gandhi.

In a message to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the bereaved family, he said the 'dastardly' act was a 'benumbing shock to the nation, and what has followed makes us hang our head in shame'.

Describing the recent incidents of arson, loot and violence in Delhi and other parts of the country as 'most reprehensible', he said 'if it was sad and unpardonable in Punjab, it is all the more so in other parts of the country'.

Mr. Deoras alleged that the police and the Governmental machinery seemed to have been 'completely paralysed', and that a 'free hand' was given to anti-social elements.

He said 'if a nation can lose its sanity even for a short time under stress, how shall we face the grave dangers ahead with equanimity, calm, firmness and discipline. Let this carnage which is embittering the feeling between brothers stop at once and let the police deal with the lunatic fringe with a heavy hand'.

Mr. Deoras said 'Let us, forget the ugly thing and once again strengthen the bonds of brotherhood and love for that alone can ensure the integrity and security of our country'.

CSO: 4600/1146

RAJIV TALKS WITH VISITING DIGNITARIES REPORTED

Egyptian Assembly Speaker

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 Nov 84 p 5

[Text] NEW DELHI, November 4 (UNI)--EGYPT has assured "full support and co-operation" to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in strengthening the non-aligned movement.

This was conveyed by the speaker of the People's Assembly of Egypt, Mr. Refaat Almahgoub, when he called on Mr. Gandhi here today.

Mr. Gandhi told Mr. Almahgoub "I will continue my mother's policy towards the third world and the Arab world". He reiterated India's support for the legitimate right of the Palestinian people and their struggle against the Zionist forces".

Mr. Almahgoub expressed the hope that the non-aligned movement would gain more strength during Mr. Gandhi's tenure as chairperson of the movement. He also assured the Prime Minister of Egypt's continuous support in working for world peace.

Mr. Almahgoub also met the Yugoslav President, Mr. Vasselin Djuranovic last evening and discussed measures to strengthen the non-aligned movement.

The Foundation

Mr. Almahgoub said his country and India share views on many international issues, including the situation in the West Asia and Lebanon. He said the friendly relations between the two countries exist since late Jawaharlal Nehru's time, who, along with the late Egyptian President Nasser and the Yugoslav President Tito laid the foundation of the non-aligned movement.

He said Egypt has always opposed the forces, working to weaken the unity and integrity of India.

Referring to the assassination of the prime minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the speaker said "her death was not only a loss of India, but to the whole mankind," Mrs. Gandhi was the champion of the non-aligned movement and she always supported the Arab world.

The speaker said a joint trade commission has been set up to further improve the trade and economic relations between the nations.

Mr. Almahgoub is also likely to meet the President, Mr. Zail Singh, and the Lok Sabha speaker, Mr. Balram Jakhar.

#### Pakistan President

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 4.

The Pakistan President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, today called for "a fresh approach to create a friction-free relationship" between the two countries, when he met the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, before flying back to Islamabad.

The two Heads of Government met briefly without aides for a private talk, after they were assisted by Ministers and senior officials of both sides during initial discussions.

The Pakistan President utilised the opportunity of his visit to Delhi for Mrs. Indira Gandhi's funeral to press for an early resumption of the interrupted dialogue at different levels to carry forward the process of reconciliation. He has been hinting at and talking both privately and publicly about the desirability of a no-war pact, a balanced reduction of forces, mutual inspection of nuclear installations and increased trade to normalise relations.

**Mutual desire:** What exactly transpired at the private meeting between Mr. Gandhi and Gen. Zia was not disclosed by either side, but they assured each other of their desire for good neighbourly relations based on equality, mutuality and peaceful co-existence. "Our main aim is peace in the region," Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said, stressing that India was not in competition with Pakistan. Gen. Zia, in turn, assured him that Pakistan was equally interested in better understanding with India, since it had nothing to gain through conflict or confrontation.

At a meeting with some Indian journalists after his talk with Mr. Gandhi this afternoon, Gen. Zia argued that the emergence of a new personality at the helm in India should open up new vistas for resuming the process of normalisation. It was in this belief that he urged for an early resumption of the no-war dialogue.

**Denial:** Gen. Zia denied vehemently that Pakistan was training and arming Sikh extremists or encouraging any secessionist movement in India, saying that he had specifically warned the visiting Sikh pilgrims not to engage in any political activity during their stay in Pakistan. The two protagonists of Khalistan, Mr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan and Mr. Ganga Singh Dhillon had been warned not to enter Pakistan and told in no uncertain terms that they would be deported if they did so by taking advantage of the absence of visa restrictions for those

with foreign passports.

The best way of taking a close look at the Indo-Pakistan problem, in his view, was to follow the staff college procedures for setting up what are called syndicates to study them from all angles by playing reverse roles to subject each hypothesis to a critical test.

It would be possible for both sides to evaluate in this manner each other's military capabilities, political constraints and other limitations on either side to be able to arrive at a proper assessment of their intentions and desires for accommodation.

**Soviet presence:** In this context, he spoke of the increasing Soviet presence in Afghanistan and its impact on Pakistan, urging that as a leader of the non-aligned movement, India should take the initiative in resolving this problem in the larger interests of peace and stability of the region.

Gen. Zia said there was nothing new in occasional exchanges of fire across the Line of Actual Control in Kashmir, but denied there was any massing of troops on Pakistan's side. The two countries had a pretty good idea of their military deployments and kept each other informed of any fresh movements or manoeuvres in the normal course.

It was only in the Saichim Glacier area where there was recently what he called an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation because of conflicting claims, but it was sought to be settled through flag meetings between the local commandos on either side. He did not expect this dispute to escalate into a major clash in this mountain region.

**No threat:** He said the supply of American arms to Pakistan did not really upset the military balance in the sub-continent. It hardly posed, in his view, any threat to India, which was a much bigger country with a larger army and vastly superior industrial base.

The Indian Prime Minister was assisted during the talks by the Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, and the Foreign Secretary Mr. M. K. Rasgotra, while Gen Zia had with him his Foreign Minister, Mr. Yaqub Ali Khan and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Niaz Naik besides other officials who came with him from Pakistan.

## PAPERS REPORT REACTION TO DELHI DISTURBANCES

**Shekhar: 'Riots Engineered'**

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 6 Nov 84 p 4

[Text]

New Delhi, Nov. 5: The bloody riots that rocked the capital for three days "were not spontaneous but engineered," the Janata Party president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, told newsmen here today.

He said the loot, arson and killings were conducted by organised bands of outsiders, adding that, "the ferocity of the killings make me feel that the country has become a depraved nation."

Mr Chandra Shekhar, however, refused to blame the ruling party but was "not willing to give them a clean chit either." Pointing out that there were lumpens in all political parties, Mr Chandra Shekhar said it was for the judicial enquiry to identify the culprits. He urged that a judicial enquiry commission start investigations into the riots immediately.

Accusing the city police force of criminal negligence of duty during the riots, he said, "There is total loss of confidence in the police. It is sad that the para-military forces had to be deployed to save the lives of the people." He, however, felt that in view of the tense situation and past record of the police, "the armed forces should be deployed everywhere in the city." He observed that, "never before have religious places been destroyed like this." He said people he met at relief camps had also said that such destruction of gurdwaras had not taken place even during partition. "All

gurdwaras should be repaired immediately so that they do not become eyesores," Mr Chandra Shekhar said.

The only "silver lining" in the whole nightmare was that Hindu neighbours had helped Sikhs in many areas, he said. The main task now was to "reestablish the confidence of the minorities" in the country, he added.

Mr Chandra Shekhar, who visited the relief camps yesterday and today, said there were over 50,000 refugees in the camp and that the facilities were shameful. "There is incredible filth, no sanitary arrangements, no food, or water. If these things cannot be organised, what is the credibility of the government?" he asked.

He said the killings had been inhuman and bodies had not been cremated for four days and many corpses burnt without informing their nearest relatives.

He said though "others" had asked for the home minister's resignation, "I do not expect any ethical gesture from this government." In any case it does not make any difference to the lives of the people whether this home minister remains or resigns, he said.

Appealing to all parties "not to make this tragedy a political issue," he said though the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, was seeking the cooperation of the Opposition leaders, "his minions were accusing the Opposition of making political capital of the situation."

## Complaints Against Police

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 6 Nov 84 p 4

[Text]

**New Delhi, Nov. 5:** Complaints of criminal negligence and dereliction of duty have been registered against Mr H.C. Jatav and Mr Nikhil Kumar, both additional commissioners of police, and Mr Seva Das, deputy commissioner of police, east district, by two reporters of the *Indian Express*.

In a letter to the Delhi police commissioner they have held the three responsible, through their apathy and negligence, for the massacre in Trilokpuri where over 350 people were slaughtered in a carnage lasting over 30 hours till the evening of November 2. The official figure, they add, is however 95.

The two reporters, Mr Rahul Bedi and Mr Joseph Maliakkan, had gone to Trilokpuri at 2 pm on November 2. Around 500m away from Block 32, they met a police rider and constable emerging from the block where killings were still taking place. He told them that the situation was quiet and only two had been killed. However, a mob stopped them from entering Block 32.

The two reporters went to the Kalyanpuri police station where the sub-inspector also said that all was quiet in Trilokpuri and

refused to help them enter Block 32. He said he was short of men. At 5 pm they approached Mr Nikhil Kumar and he called the control room, two floors below, to inform the Army captain on duty. He did nothing to ensure that a force was sent.

In Kalyanpuri they found the station house officer, Mr S.V. Singh, accompanied by two constables, arriving in a Matador van. He said he had radioed his senior officer, Mr Seva Das, who eventually arrived after 7 pm. They returned to the police headquarters where Mr Nikhil Kumar said he had done his duty by informing the control room.

Meanwhile, Mr Jatav, returning from a tour of the trans-Jamuna area, including the Kalyanpuri police station area under which Trilokpuri falls, said that all was calm and Mr Seva Das had confirmed this. Told of the urgency of the situation, Mr Jatav asked Mr Nikhil Kumar why he had not been informed, especially as he had been in his office at 5 pm.

Mr Jatav finally arrived on the spot around 7.45 pm, over 30 hours after the killings began on November 1 around 10 am.

## Government 'Inaction' Scored

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Nov 84 p 9

[Text]

**NEW DELHI, Nov. 5.**

Leaders of the various Opposition parties today visited the areas in Delhi affected by mob fury during the past few days and assailed the Government for its "inaction".

They demanded at press conferences or through statements that the Government should step up relief operations and intensify security measures to remove fear from the minds of the minorities.

At a meeting of the leaders of several Opposition parties it was decided to go on a deputation to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, tomorrow and impress on him the urgency of extending the scope of relief operations.

Mr. Charan Singh, President, Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party (DMKP), presided over the meeting. Those present included Mr. E. M. S. Namuthiripad, (CPI-M), Mr. C. Rajeswara Rao (CPI), Mr. Tridib Chaudhury (RSP), Mr. D. D.

Shastri (Forward Bloc), Mr. Brij Mohan (Congress-J), Mr. P. Upendra (Telugu Desam), Syed Ahmed Hashmi (Janavadi), Mr. Bhim Singh (Panthers party) and Mr. Jambuwantr Dhole, MP, who was recently expelled from the Congress (I).

**'Sikh driver burnt alive':** Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan, M.P., related to newsmen the bizarre story of a Sikh taxi driver being burnt alive at his (Paswan's) house on Rajendra Prasad Road in Delhi on Friday afternoon. Anticipating trouble, he had spoken to the President, Mr. Zail Singh (whom he met that day), and telephoned the Home Minister's office, seeking police protection.

The lone cab driver at a taxi stand was set upon by a mob which belaboured him. The man took shelter in Mr. Paswan's house, but in spite of the pleadings of Mr. Paswan, Mr. Karpoori Thakur, former Bihar Chief Minister, and a dozen Bihar MLAs, the mob flung him

into the house and set it ablaze and the man was burnt alive.

**M.P. & family escaped:** Mr. Paswan and the members of his family escaped by scaling a wall and fleeing through the backdoor. Till now, his request for a new house had gone unheeded, he said.

Mr. Charan Singh, accompanied by other DMKP leaders, today visited several disturbed areas in Delhi. They met some of the inmates of camps set up to shelter victims of the disturbances.

**Inhuman conditions in camps:** Mr. Chandra Shekhar, Janata Party President, told a news conference that the number of fatalities in Delhi might exceed 1,000. He demanded a thorough judicial probe to find out how the riots were engineered and who were behind them. He said he had found the conditions in some refugee camps he had visited inhuman. It certainly did not speak well of a Government which could not provide basic amenities in a relief camp in four days.

The Janata President said the dependents of everyone killed in the riots should be paid Rs. 10,000 as interim relief. All gurdwaras should be restored and the recitation of holy scriptures facilitated.

**People's relief committee:** Mr. Chandra Shekhar also announced the formation of a 35-member people's relief committee to help the victims of mob fury and said the Karnataka Government had given to it a donation of Rs. 10 lakhs and the Andhra Pradesh Government was also expected to donate a suitable amount. His party had donated Rs. 25,000.

The committee, headed by Mr. M. Hidayatullah, former Vice-President, has opened an account with Canara Bank, Parliament Street branch, New Delhi, (SB account No. 15613), and remittances will be accepted at all branches of the bank.

Mr. Nambuthiripad and several other CPI (M) leaders, including Mr. B. T. Ranade and Mr. E. Balanandan, visited the riot-hit areas of Delhi today.

**Loss underplayed:** In a statement, they said it was clear that the Delhi Administration was underplaying the loss of life and property suffered by the Sikh community.

"At all the places, the victims reported that organised mobs were brought from outside their areas for the attacks", the statement said.

"At every place the police either actively connived with the mobs or refused to intervene to protect the lives and property of the Sikhs", they added.

**Marxist leaders' demand:** The CPI (M) leaders demanded a free hand to the military to control the situation, strict enforcement of curfew in all the affected localities, all help to the peace committees formed in different localities and urgent steps to improve the conditions in relief camps.

The All-India Democratic Students' Organisation, in a statement today, demanded an immediate halt to the holocaust and exemplary punishment for those responsible for it.

#### PTI reports:

The Congress-S President, Mr. Sharad Pawar and Lt. Gen. J. S. Aurora (retd) are vice-chairmen of the 35-member people's relief committee and Mr. George Fernandes, Janata General Secretary, is its secretary and Mr. Chimanbhai Patel, treasurer. The Congress-S leader, Mrs. Ambika Soni, will coordinate relief.

Other members include Archbishop Angelo Fernandes, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, Mr. H. D. Deve Gowda, Mr. Biju Patnaik, Mr. P. Upendra, Mr. Khushwant Singh, Mr. Mir Qasim, Mr. Ram Jethmalani, Mr. Kuldip Nayar, Mr. M. J. Akbar, Mr. I. K. Gujral, Prof. Madhu Dandavate and Syed Shahabudin.

#### UNI reports:

Thirteen prominent Punjabi writers and intellectuals today expressed their gratitude to the Hindus, in particular the Punjabi Hindus, for coming to the assistance of the Sikhs at considerable risk to their own lives and property. In a joint statement here, they said while the police and the para-military forces displayed "criminal neglect" of duty in preventing loot, arson and killings of innocent people, it was heartening to note that the Punjabi Hindus came to their help.

"The Hindus "organised defence of their mohallas, gave shelter and food to the Sikhs whose homes had been destroyed and provided medical aid to the injured," the statement said.

The signatories to the statement are: Mr. Khushwant Singh, Amrita Pritam, Kartar Singh Duggal, Ajit Kaur, Satindra Singh, Raj Gill, Gulzar Singh Sandhu, P. S. Kanwar, Krishna Sobti, Harbhajan Singh, Tara Singh, and Pritam Singh Arsi.

### PATRIOT Editorial Article

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 6 Nov 84 p 1

[Editorial by R K. Mishra]

[Text]

The last few days of grief and shame in Delhi have brought out into the open the shocking paralysis which has gripped political parties professing by secularism. Not one of them sent their cadres to the areas where hooligans and criminals were on rampage. Not one of their leaders had the courage to rush to the colonies rocked by violence and stand between the gangsters and their helpless victims. In many places party cadres remained spectators as mobs indulged in loot, arson and murder: the partymen were perhaps awaiting a direction from above but it never came because leaders were either too stunned to react or too insensitive to what was happening.

All this was a staggering experience for one who has looked to these parties and leaders with hope, notwithstanding differences of political perceptions. If one survived, it was because others.

not belonging to these parties, responded as if by reflex to the call of duty in a time of grave, unprecedented calamity.

There are numerous instances of men and women taking the risk of intervening in the midst of a situation when their lives could be imperiled. They must remain anonymous, at least for the time being. They are men and women who acted courageously in the face of frightening depredations; they acted spontaneously in accordance with the humanist instincts that reside in the heart of every conscious and secular person.

There is the instance of two women and a young man, all of them Hindus, jumping into the fray in a South Delhi colony when a mob was advancing to set fire to a small shop owned by a Sikh. In another instance, a young Sikh, hit by a stone and bleeding profusely, knocked the door of a house near Khan market. The housewife opened the door and learnt that some hooligans were chasing him and his life was in danger. She took him inside, gave him shelter and first aid and arranged to send him safely to the police. On hearing of widespread disturbances in a trans-Jamuna colony, another woman drove with her son to the spot. For the whole day she quietly carried one injured person after another to various hospitals in her car. Many others received deadly threats for giving protection to Sikhs. Only later will we know how many have already paid the price of the courage of their convictions. All of them have done us proud.

But what were the political parties doing, particularly those which never tire of advertising their secular and progressive 'commitments', when Delhi was burning?

Who does not know that a sizeable section of the murderous mobs stormed into various colonies from rural areas where the political allies and collaborators of these parties claim to have considerable influence? Could they not, at least, ask these allies to rush their workers to the villages and intercede to prevent further disturbances? But how could they when they were not able to even mobilise their own cadres? All that they did was to issue statements and indict the administration. Of course, the Delhi administration cannot be absolved of its responsibility and no one who is guilty should be allowed to go unpunished. But when houses were being burnt, men killed and areas looted, could these parties do nothing more effective than issuing statements? What had happened to their motivated cadres and their glorious tradition of risking their lives for a cause which they hold dear?

Now that the violence appears to have been brought under control, the business of exploiting human misery has commenced. Accusations are being hurled and ammunition gathered for training guns against the 'enemy' in the electoral battle. This is the abysmal depth to which the perception of politics has sunk.

I write all this more in sorrow than anger. What a pride it was, at one time, to belong to these parties in full knowledge that it was a journey into uncertainty, risks, suffering. How has that fountain of inspiration dried up?

Secularism is India's foundation. And secularism cannot be defended by Government alone. Committed political parties alone can safeguard the secular edifice of our nation. The situation is not yet normal. Anti-social elements and communal gangsters are regrouping, victims of the Delhi carnage can themselves be misled by mischief-makers. Rumour mills are working overtime. The administration is under severe strain. Communal poison has infected its limbs. Thus there is an urgent need to act in concert. Everyone who genuinely loves this country, particularly secular parties, must quickly recover from this paralysis and foggy perception of priorities.

CSO: 4600/1132

REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON SECURITY PERSONNEL CHANGES

Delhi Police Security Unit

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 Nov 84 p 1

[Text] NOV. 6--The Security unit of the Delhi police appears to have been rendered irrelevant.

This became apparent on Tuesday when it was announced that Mr Gopi Ram Gupta, Deputy Commissioner of the Special Security District formed some time ago to look after Indira Gandhi's security, and Mr Duli Chand Gulia of the same unit, had been placed under suspension. Mr Gulia is believed to have permitted Satwant Singh to change his duty.

Home Cadre

Mr H. D. Pillai, Additional Commissioner, Security and Traffic, who was on deputation to the Delhi police, was reverted to his home cadre.

Protection the Prime Minister and other VIPs had, till recently, been one of the main jobs of the Delhi police. The security set-up was split early last year with the Special Security District being asked to look after the Prime Minister and the regular security unit assuming the responsibility of ensuring the safety of other VIPs.

The task of providing security to Mr Rajiv Gandhi has been given to the Special Frontier Force, a team of commandos under the Research and Analysis Wing.

The SFF commandos are trained in sabotage behind enemy lines and rescue of hijack hostages. Experts feel this is hardly the sort of training that could help in providing security to the Prime Minister.

Major Decision

The other major decision taken by the Government is the transfer of over 100 Sikh subordinate officers and constables from security to other postings. Replacements are in the process of being found and the strength of the Security Unit has been severely depleted.

**There is resentment in the police against being singled out for harsh treatment. Officers say the assassination of the Prime Minister was due as much to security lapses as the ineptitude of the intelligence agencies.**

#### **Rank**

An officer of the rank of Joint Director in the intelligence bureau coordinates with the police and other agencies to protect the Prime Minister. While one Deputy Director is collects information concerning the Prime Minister's security, the Deputy Director, Delhi, is expected to know of such plots if hatched within his areas.

Several police officers wondered why action had not been taken against the three seniormost officers manning intelligence. An officer said the emphasis seemed to be not on taking corrective actions but on finding scapegoats.

#### **Center Intelligence Changes**

**Madras THE HINDU in English 8 Nov 84 p 1**

**[Article by G. K. Reddy]**

**[Text] There has been a big shake-up at the top level of the intelligence set-up and the security organisation at the Centre in the wake of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination.**

The Chief Adviser to the Government on national security, Mr. R. N. Kao, the seniormost police officer in the country, who is the father figure of the whole intelligence establishment, has resigned, accepting constructive responsibility for this terrible tragedy through a breach in the security organisation.

The Government which has accepted his resignation, has decided to relieve the Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Mr. R. K. Kapur, and the Deputy Director in charge of Security, Mr. Rattan Saigal, and revert them to their State cadres.

**New IB chief:** The Intelligence Bureau will be headed by Mr. H. A. Barari, who is the seniormost Deputy Director at present. Another Deputy Director, Mr. S. D. Trivedi, has been appointed in the place of Mr. Rattan Saigal to head the security wing of the Intelligence Bureau which is responsible for the protection of the top personalities in the Government.

**Another appointment:** Another important appointment made today was the promotion of Mr. M. K. Narayanan, one of the outstanding officers in the Intelligence Bureau, to the rank of a senior Deputy Director. He will be one of the key persons in the Intelligence establishment under the new arrangement.

**Alert in Punjab, Haryana and Delhi:** The Centre has taken all possible precautions by deploying more Army units and para-military formations in Punjab, Haryana and Delhi to prevent a communal flare-up tomorrow when Sikhs celebrate the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak and take out traditional processions.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, held a series of meetings today with senior Cabinet colleagues, Army Generals, Intelligence Chiefs, Police Commandants and Secretaries to Government, to devise a suitable strategy for averting clashes and dealing firmly with violent incidents, while seeking the co-operation of both Hindu and Sikh leaders in maintaining communal peace.

**Counsel to Sikh priests:** The Government has been urging the five Sikh high priests in Amritsar not to come to Delhi tomorrow and similar steps have been taken to dissuade Sikh organisations from taking out processions in the prevailing atmosphere of communal tension. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has been utilising the services of several eminent persons who are not in politics to use their personal influence to restrain the hotheads in both the communities not to indulge in an provocative utterances or actions in this tense atmosphere.

**Rumour scotched:** In this rumour-ridden capital, the word went round today that two armed Army officers in plainclothes had infiltrated into the Rashtrapati Bhavan compound by breaching the security cordon and that, following an alarm sounded by the President's staff, the Army commandos had moved in to protect him. It was later stated that no unauthorised persons had entered the heavily guarded premises and that, only as a matter of abundant precaution, an extra Army contingent had been brought in to strengthen the security staff at the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

**Misleading impression:** But the sudden appearance of these Army commandos in full combat gear with their fingers on the triggers of their automatic weapons, gave the misleading impression as though something serious had happened or was anticipated, justifying these extra precautions. In the prevailing edgy atmosphere, the general public is prepared to give credence to any rumour however baseless it might be, because of the Indian penchant for believing anything that has the sinister ring of secret information.

**Import of Army Chief's message:** The message of the Army Chief, General A. S. Vaidya, to officers and men urging them not to be misled by an individuals or events into taking any wrong steps has become the subject of different interpretations, leading, in turn, to some ugly rumours of indiscipline. There was no need for the Army authorities to publicise this appeal which should have been conveyed to the officers and men through their respective formations in the normal course.

The Army Chief urged the officers and men under his command not to let "any event or anybody play on your emotions and mislead you into taking a wrong path which eventually will benefit, not us, not our country, but only our enemies". He called upon them to rise above the "black shadows of despondency and anguish and remain steadfast and true to the Army's traditions".

**Govt. functioning affected:** The convulsive events of the last one week have interrupted the normal functioning of the Central Government since the primary preoccupation at present is with the preservation of law and order, not coping with the problems of transition. The new Prime Minister is, no doubt, doing his best to provide the higher direction, but it is at the middle levels that the paralysis has crept into the administration.

**Shocking thing:** A shocking thing has been the behaviour of some politicians in Delhi during this crisis, when they inflamed communal passions quite brazenly without any fear of retribution. A worse thing that happened was the attempt of some ruling party members to prevent the police from arresting or compelling them to release those arrested for indulging in looting and arson.

**UNI reports:**

**Mr. Maxwell Pereira** was today appointed Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Security District, in place of Mr. G. R. Gupta, who has been suspended.

**Mr. Bhim Sin**, Deputy Commissioner in the Delhi Armed Police Battalion, will succeed Mr. Pereira as Additional Commissioner of Police, North District.

**CSO:** 5650/0033

CPI-M DECLARES SUPPORT TO OPPOSITION GROUPINGS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Nov 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, November 13 (PTI)--THE Communist Party of India (Marxist) today declared its support to parties and combinations like the DMKP, Congress (S), DMK, National Conference, Telugu Desam, Janata Party and Congress (J) in the coming Lok Sabha elections.

In its appeal to the electorate to support candidates of the CPM and those of the left parties, the CPM said a national level seat adjustment among opposition parties was out of the question. The combinations would differ from state to state.

Releasing the 11-page appeal, the party general secretary, Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, told newsmen, in the present situation it was "not possible for a single party to provide the national alternative".

What was required was a combination of forces, who among other things, stood for secularism, were wedded to fight communalism and determined to fight authoritarianism and favoured a proper Centre-state relations, he said.

The party general secretary, urged the electorate to defeat the Congress since it had "weakened the country beyond measure".

Mr. Namboodirippad said the CPM considered that the decisions of the Srinagar conference of opposition parties and the Calcutta conclave should form the basis of such a programme.

He said the document on Centre-state relations adopted at the Srinagar conclave, the economic demands put forth at the Calcutta conclave and decisions of the Delhi convention on peace movement could form the basis for the programme.

Asked about his assessment of the forthcoming polls, Mr. Namboodiripad said if parties like the DMKP and the Janata took this programme seriously and if they did not go in for opportunistic alliances, they may succeed.

He said he would not be in a position to comment as to in which state and with which party, would his party discuss the question of extending support. This

would be discussed primarily at the state level and a decision would be taken after consulting the central leadership.

Such a combination was not ready-made.

#### New Alignment

Mr. Namboodiripad said the CPM would work for a new alignment of forces through the elections. They should lead to the defeat of the Congress, isolation of divisive forces and strengthening of secular and left and democratic forces.

The CPM in its appeal to the electorate said during the last five years the Congress rule had weakened the country beyond measure. The economy was in a shambles, democracy, greatly undermined with one-party dictatorship looming over the country, the Centre-state relationship, go exacerbated leading to unnecessary crises, and democratic liberties were under attack with the enactment of the NSA and ESM.

CSO: 4600/1138

## SIKH PILGRIMS REPORTED TO REBUFF SEPARATISTS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by L. K. Sharma]

[Text] AMRITSAR, November 13--SIKH pilgrims from India who went to Nankana Sahib in Pakistan have rebuffed their co-religionists from western countries, who came to the gurdwara only to preach separatism.

The response of the Indian pilgrims to the pro-Khalistan slogans raised by those from the west was sullen silence.

The leaders of the so-called Khalistan movement must have gone back to the U.S., Canada and the U.K. disappointed by the failure of their mission.

If the reaction of the Indian pilgrims who returned here on Sunday is any indication, the crude attempts by overseas Sikhs to influence them has had just the contrary effect.

The Indian pilgrims maintained a low profile and avoided an open confrontation but at one stage sevadars of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee, which sponsored the Indian delegation, forced the western group to fold up a banner proclaiming "Khalistan" which it had displayed at Nanakana Sahib.

Representatives of a cross-section of the Indian pilgrims whom this reporter met came out with the choicest abuses for those who were "trying to harm the country and create problems for us." A middle-class trader described the Sikh visitors from other countries as "paid agents" of a western organisation.

According to all accounts, the affluent-looking Sikhs from western countries did not stay at the gurdwara unlike other pilgrims and operated from a hotel in Lahore. They came to Nankana Sahib in small groups in Limousines for a couple of hours every day and contacted small batches of Indian pilgrims separately.

"They came by air and they appeared to be rolling in wealth", a member of the Indian delegation, who happens to be a mechanic, said with derision. "They live in the safety of their homes abroad and come here and tell us what we should do in India," he added.

"They tried to distribute poster-sized photographs of Bhindranwale but there were no takers. They hung these posters round their neck and made video films."

Some of the Indian pilgrims withdrew themselves from the "nagar kirtan" procession when the western group began to dominate the show with placards and Bhindranwale photographs.

The western group members made persistent attempts to incite the Indian pilgrims against the Akali leaders and the high priests, it was alleged.

The Indian pilgrims were promised a video show on the army operation against Bhindranwale. Ultimately it did not materialise. One member of the Indian delegation commented that the overseas group had some members with arms. Perhaps none had the video monitor for the promised show.

The Pakistani authorities had simplified the procedures for the entry and exit of the Indian delegation, as its members were not checked by the customs at all.

Meanwhile, the five high priests ordered that Thursday be observed as "ardas" diwas" or prayer day in memory of those Sikhs killed in Delhi and in some other parts of the country in the wake of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination.

A three-day akhand path (incessant reading of the granth sahib) would begin in all gurdwaras from today. The bhog ceremony would be on Thursday. This would be followed by special prayers.

CSO: 4600/1138

POSITION OF LEFTISTS IN LOK SABHA TOLD

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 Nov 84 pp 1, 9

NEW DELHI, Nov. 14--The CPI(M) has 36 members and the CPI 13 in the seventh Lok Sabha, whose five-year term expires on January 20. The Forward Bloc and the Revolutionary Socialist Party are represented by three and four members, respectively, in the present House.

The CPI(M) has been the largest single Opposition party in the Lok Sabha. The CPI took the sixth position in terms of number, after the Lok Dal (22), Janata (21), the BJP (16) and the DMK 14.

Of the 36 Marxists in the House, as many as 28 have been elected to the present Lok Sabha in the January 1980 elections from West Bengal, where the CPI(M) is a major partner of the ruling Left Front West Bengal's strength in the House is 42 seats.

Two CPI(M) members have represented Tripura State where, too, their party is ruling. The remaining six members of the CPI(M) have been elected from Kerala.

CPI Stronghold

Bihar, which has a strength of 54 in the House, is the stronghold of the CPI. It returned six CPI members in the 1980 elections.

The total number of members representing Kerala is 20, of which two belong to the CPI. The CPI is a coalition partner in the ruling Left Front in West Bengal. Three CPI members were elected to the House in the last elections.

U.P., with a strength of 85 members, returned only one CPI member. Out of the total representation of two from Manipur, the CPI had won one seat in the last Lok Sabha elections.

The Forward Bloc had won three seats and the Revolutionary Socialist Party four from West Bengal. The two parties are partners in the Left Front in the State.

The CPI(M) already has officially announced its decision to contest 30 Lok Sabha seats from West Bengal. The names of its candidates were disclosed in the first week of October. For the 30 seats they have decided to contest, the CPI(M) has nominated 26 candidates who are already members of the present Lok Sabha. The four new faces replace of Mr K. C. Haldar (Durgapur-SC); Mr Sushil Bhattacharya (Burdwan); Mr Bijoy Modak (Arambagh); and Mr Mohammad Ismail (Barrackpore).

The CPI has been allotted three seats and the Forward Bloc and the Revolutionary Socialist Party four each in West Bengal.

The CPIM and the CPI are entering into seat adjustments as well as electoral alliances with the Opposition Parties, particularly in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu.

The big question before the central CPI(M) leadership is whether the party will maintain its dominant position in West Bengal. Reports have so far suggested that the CPI(M) as the ruling party in West Bengal has been fast losing its popularity among the urban masses.

There is a definite change in the political atmosphere in the State, following the assassination of Indira Gandhi and, according to "political observers" here, the "sympathy" factor is likely to help the Congress(I) against the Marxists in West Bengal.

CSO: 4600/1141

## CPI-M DOCUMENT TELLS POSITION ON ELECTIONS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 15 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Tarun Ganguly]

[Text]

**New Delhi, Nov. 14:** The 11-page document released by the CPI(M) central committee on the eve of the general elections does not even once describe the Congress(I) as an authoritarian force. It also does not define the alignment of anti-Congress(I) forces it is willing to support in the elections.

In a roundabout way, the central committee has tried to indicate the democratic forces with which it can have an understanding if certain conditions are fulfilled. The document says it supports the combination of forces which "stand for secularism, are wedded to fight communalism, are determined to fight authoritarianism and save democracy," and are for nonalignment and a "proper Centre-state relation." The document says that the CPI(M) will strengthen Left forces and support, in general terms, parties like the DMKP,

Congress(S), DMK, National Conference, Telugu Desam and some other parties.

The central committee document in conjunction with the recent joint statement made by the CPI(M) general secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, and the CPI general secretary, Mr Rajeswara Rao, highlight the fact that the Communist parties are eager to maintain a distance from the democratic non-Congress(I) Opposition parties.

Without being critical of the Congress(I) led by Mr Rajiv Gandhi, the CPI(M) document states that the "ruling party cannot be trusted to defend and continue the foreign policy of nonalignment." In a guarded compliment to Mrs Indira Gandhi, the document says she "no doubt continued the policy of nonalignment and was its strong advocate." Therefore, the document only expresses apprehension whether the new power struc-

ture would continue the policy of nonalignment.

The unsure attitude of the CPI(M) towards the Congress(I) led by Mr Rajiv Gandhi has been reflected in its vague support for a combination of forces which might or might not turn into a national alternative. Perhaps, that is why the main stress in the document is for the consolidation of Left forces.

Asked what would be attitude of his party towards the Congress(I) in case Mr Rajiv Gandhi was returned to power with a slim majority, Mr Namboodiripad's enigmatic reply was, "We will see after the elections."

The document repeatedly stresses that "the CPI(M) works for a new alignment of forces," but fails to define the forces. In its effort to cover up the ambivalent attitude towards the Congress(I), the document has urged the people to "defeat the Congress(I) and take the future of the country in its own hands."

CSO: 4600/1142

## INTERVIEW WITH CPI GENERAL SECRETARY REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Nov 84 p 8

**[Text]** CPI general secretary C Rajeswara Rao stated on Thursday that his party's main objective in the Lok Sabha election would be to defeat the Congress-I. While the CPI would have no truck with the BJP, it was willing to have seat adjustments with other Opposition parties, including the DMKP.

The specifics of alliances and adjustments in the States, barring West Bengal and Kerala where the party will be part of the Left Front, would be worked out by Tuesday next.

Asked whether the CPI would have seat adjustments with parties that had an electoral understanding with the BJP, Mr Rao said: "We cannot stop other Opposition parties from reaching an understanding with the BJP. In the present electoral system such anomalies cannot be avoided". But wherever the BJP was there, if the CPI had strength it would fight.

Mr Rao said that there was no change in the CPI's electoral policy since the last national council meeting in which it was decided that the party was committed to defeating the Congress-I.

Asked whether the changed situation following Indira Gandhi's assassination did not make the party reconsider its stand, he said that the new Rajiv Gandhi Government was "old wine in new bottle".

While the CPI was happy that Mr Gandhi has reiterated "his Government's commitment to international peace and friendship, and to the time-tested friendship and mutual cooperation with the Soviet Union", it felt that "his Government remained committed to the policies of the capitalist path" of Mrs Gandhi which were incapable of finding a solution to the internal problems such as Punjab and Assam, and other socio-economic problems, states the communiqué of the party's CEC 13-14 November meeting, released by Mr Rao.

Mr Rao said that the new Union Government should have been given a chance, but "unfortunately the elections came in the way". Asked if the party would support Mr Rajiv's Government on any issue, he said, "any good things that are done, we will support".

When it was pointed out that a CPI central committee member had advocated in a journal that his party should have no truck with the DMKP, the CPI general secretary informed that the leader concerned was "taken to task" in the CEC meeting and he had apologised.

Mr Rao had earlier stated that Indira Gandhi was assassinated by "the tools of US imperialism and their CIA, and anti-national and dark forces operating inside the country".

CSO: 4600/1145

## AMBASSADOR TO PAKISTAN SUMMONED TO DELHI

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Nov 84 p 1

## [Text]

Ambassador K D Sharma has been called back from Islamabad for urgent consultations on the anti-India activity of Khalistan protagonists in Nankana Sahib and Lahore in recent days.

Mr Sharma, who arrived in the Capital on Thursday, will brief the foreign office on the factual position regarding Pakistani official inaction and possible abetment of the tirade by West-based activists.

A Pakistan denial issued in Islamabad and New Delhi has not been found to be very convincing. Diplomatic sources say that Islamabad efforts to whitewash the incident only confirm that the authorities in Pakistan had gone out of their way to be nice to the Khalistan elements knowing well that they would misuse the pilgrimage to Nankana Sahib for political propaganda.

The Pakistani denial claims that "in view of the special circumstances prevailing this year, the Government of Pakistan made public appeals to the pilgrims to respect the sanctity of the occasion and avoid activities of a political nature". But it goes on to add "in such a situation, it is impossible to totally prevent any political statements, specially when these are made within the precincts of the shrines, making it difficult for the law and order authorities to intervene". The statement also claimed that the Pakistani Government had asked the official media and the press not to cover the political activity in the shrine, a claim not borne out by the facts.

To make matters worse, the Pakistani statement charged the Indian liaison officer who was assaulted by the Khalistani activists, of having 'gravely provoked' his assailants. The statement also denied

that the Information Minister had meetings or exchanged gifts with any particular group of pilgrims. Such exchanges were a part of the general welcome, extended to all pilgrims, it said.

Official sources in India point out that the Pakistani claim of innocence rings shallow because they pretend not to know who the Khalistani activists are, and because they seek to equate the political people from the US, Canada, the UK and other countries, with the ordinary pilgrims who went from India.

Mr Sharma is expected to give a full report of the incidents which are being viewed with grave concern by the Government.

According to eyewitnesses accounts of the incidents that took place, the Pakistan Government appears to have extended VIP treatment to the pro-Khalistan elements from Canada, the UK and US. Indian Sikh pilgrims, who have just returned from their pilgrimage, found Pakistani officials going all out to extend special facilities like accommodation, transportation and customs clearance at the airport.

Some officers had been specially deputed even to receive the Khalistan supporters, who included Jasbir Singh, a nephew of Bhindranwale.

The Indian pilgrims who were denied similar facilities, said in an interview that there were several other instances of open encouragement by Pakistani authorities to the extremists, including permission to open a stall inside the Nankana Sahib to sell video and audio cassettes of Bhindranwale speeches. The stall was put up by the so-called Sikh Youth Federation of the UK.

## HOME MINISTER GIVES STATISTICS ON RIOT CASUALTIES

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Nov 84 p 1

[Text]

The Centre and States authorities have brought completely under control the volatile situation that followed in the wake of Mrs Indira Gandhi's assassination, leaving a total of 1,277 persons dead. Home Minister P V Narasimha Rao on Thursday told a stormy meeting of the Parliamentary Consultative Committee attached to his Ministry.

The Home Minister said of the dead, as many as 651 were in Delhi which was the worst hit in the violence that shook the country for three days and was brought under control after the Army came to the aid of civil authorities. In Delhi, 13 persons had been killed in police firing while 108 were reported lynched in trains coming to Delhi. The death toll elsewhere in the country was 518, he added.

Mr Narasimha Rao faced a very angry Opposition. Some of the members, like Mr Madhu Dandavate said they had themselves seen people being murdered as the administration and law and order machinery had totally collapsed. There was little doubt, the members said, that the riots had been engineered, and were allowed to rage unchecked through the country.

The consultative committee meeting had on its agenda the single point of a discussion on the role of Governors in the Centre-State relations. Mr Narasimha Rao wanted the committee to confine itself to the business on the agenda paper. Mr Chitta Basu, Mr Madhu Dandavate and Mr P Upendra, among others, however, would have none of this. The entire country, they said, had been shocked at the intensity of the violence in the riots and the failure of the authorities to save

law abiding citizens from getting killed, or the ravaging mobs being totally free to indulge in arson and looting while the police looked on.

Passion ran high for some time with the members insisting that there be a full discussion on the situation and the cause of the riots. Mr Rao ultimately said he would give them all the information he had on the violence and the relief measures that have been initiated for the affected people.

The meeting earlier stood in silence for two minutes in memory of Mrs Indira Gandhi.

The Home Minister said the States hit by major violence were Delhi, UP, Bihar, MP, Haryana, J and K and West Bengal. Swift action by the Government had brought the situation under control, he maintained. Mr Rao said in Delhi, over 20,000 inmates of 12 relief camps had voluntarily returned home. It was expected that about 4,000 people still in camps would be able to return to their homes shortly, he added. The administration, he said, had made arrangements for pickets and patrolling the residential areas so that people have feeling of security. Mr Rao said.

On relief measures, Mr Rao said insurance companies had been told to speed up scrutiny of claims for loss of property. The Reserve Bank has announced a comprehensive loans scheme for houses and motor vehicles and the banks are processing loan applications on a priority basis. The scheme included rescheduling of the earlier loans as well as fresh loans, he added.

CSO: 4600/1145

## EMIGRE PAPER REPORTS ON KHO'INIHA'S ROLE IN U.S. EMBASSY TAKEOVER

GF281250 London KEYHAN in Persian 15 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] The officials of the Islamic Regime have at last let the cat out of the bag. To a certain degree they revealed facts about the occupation of the U.S. Embassy and the published documents found at the den of spies. Previously, all the operations were supposedly carried out by several left-and right-wing student followers of the Imam. However, this month the regime officials announced that the occupation of the embassy was carried out on the direct orders of Ayatollah Khomeyni on the anniversary of his exile to Turkey and approved by the Revolution Council. Therefore, the matter was not as simple as they had once stated, that Hojjat ol-Eslam Kho'iniha, together with several students, went to the embassy and occupied it and managed to gather shredded documents, particularly documents which concerned certain groups. They published 2,000 of these documents by using a sophisticated machine available only to security organizations. Kho'iniha made another mistake while making a speech on the anniversary of the embassy's occupation at the same time as Mir Hoseyn Musavi was inspecting the den of spies (the former U.S. Embassy) and the special equipment for decoding secret messages. He said: "We have already published 46 books," yet at the same time Mir Hoseyn Musavi was told that 41 books were published. The news organizations did not correct his mistake, as they did not want to make it obvious that Kho'iniha was not as involved as was thought in the occupation of the embassy or the publication of the documents.

CSO: 4640/157

TABRIZ RADIO ANALYZES U.S.-IRAQ RELATIONS

GF281210 Tabriz International Service in Azeri 1800 GMT 27 Nov 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, Tariq Yuhanna 'Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister of foreign affairs, has traveled to Andrews military headquarters [as heard] in Washington for the reinstatement of relations between the United States and Iraq. Tariq 'Aziz was respectfully welcomed by a U.S. assistant secretary of state and officials of the Iraqi Foreign Affairs Ministry in the United States.

At the end of the Arab-Israeli 6-day war in 1967, the Iraqi Ba'thist regime protested U.S. support for the Zionist regime and severed its overt relations with Washington. However, it continued secret contacts with officials of the U.S. administration, thus maintaining its relations with that country. These relations assumed a new form particularly after the victory the Islamic revolution achieved in Iran. The new form of contacts resulted in the upgrading of covert relations between the United States and the Iraqi regime for the purpose of waging hostilities against the Islamic Revolution. The commencement of the war which the Iraqi regime imposed against the Islamic revolution can be viewed as one of the results of the relations between Washington and Baghdad. Although U.S. officials wanted at the beginning of the imposed war to present Washington as being impartial, they failed to conceal their efforts aimed at preventing the fall of the Iraqi Ba'thist regime.

Meanwhile, the exclusion of the Iraqi regime from the United States' list of terrorists is seen as the beginning of efforts to make relations between the two countries public. But the supply of [word indistinct] and chemical arms to Iraq by political and military officials in Washington at that time proved that these officials went beyond what they had actually said.

Why have Washington and Baghdad strived to further relations between them? The essence of this question must be sought in the 17-year-long secret relations between Iraq and the United States. Nevertheless, the question warrants a clear reply: Washington feels uneasy over the fall of the Baghdad regime in the near future.

Realizing that it is responsible for the war which Iraq imposed on the Islamic Republic of Iran, the United States regards it necessary to prevent the fall of the Iraqi regime through interference. Political circles in Washington believe it is necessary to change the current trend of the war. The United States is moving cautiously so that its fears with regard to the war adventure prove to be wrong. Actually, the United States believes that the fall of the Baghdad regime would be a severe blow to U.S. interests throughout the region. This is the truth and, under the circumstances, cannot be kept a secret.

The visit to Washington by Tariq Yuhanna 'Aziz, the disclosure of relations between Washington and Baghdad, and the emergence of certain views regarding the continuation of the 4-year-long Iran-Iraq war have proved that after realizing its (?helpless position), the United States has felt compelled to openly defend the aggressive Iraqi regime. Although the disclosure of this position is important, it is nothing new. This state of affairs concerns the views put forward by the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding the U.S. position on the war.

Meanwhile, we should listen to Iraq explain what change has been effected in the U.S. position toward Israel that has led to the disclosing of the relations between the United States and Iraq? Has Washington given up defending Israel? Has Washington begun defending the Arabs and the Palestinians? Is the United States prepared to officially recognize the rights of the tyrannized Palestinians?

The Baghdad regime has been so [word indistinct] that there is nothing left to be kept secret. The Baghdad regime is officially supporting Israel. It is also reaching identity of views with the United States for detending that occupationist regime when necessary and for upholding the Camp David Accords.

It seems that Washington's desire to establish relations with the Iraqi regime has been stronger than the latter's desire to have these relations disclosed. Nevertheless, the Iraqi regime felt so helpless that it was compelled to send Tariq Yuhanna 'Aziz to Washington to ask for (/aid) and to reestablish relations between the two countries.

Whatever has happened, however, is not that important. The main thing is that the United States hopes to reverse the situation in its favor by including the aggressive Iraqi regime among its noxious elements. But these developments have helped the world peoples understand the hostile stand held by Washington. The escalator of the 4-year-long war which Iraq has imposed on Iran and the enemy of mankind has been well described to the peoples of the world by the Islamic Republic of Iran.

CSO: 1831/406

CLANDESTINE RADIO COMMENTS ON KHAMENE'I VISIT TO MASHHAD

GF260800 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 0330 GMT 26 Nov 84

[Text] The hurried visit by 'ali Khamene'i to Mashhad and his numerous efforts to placate the people and to reorganize the affairs in that city have done little to change the people's opposition to the regime.

Yesterday, Sunday, the very mostly bulletproof automobile carrying the president of the Khomeyni regime was attacked in Mashhad by a number of angry persons. This group had taken positions on the roof of a building and then threw stones at the car carrying Khamene'i. At the last moment in order to save Khamene'i from injury, his guards ordered a change of route. For this reason, 'ali Khamene'i was quickly driven in to the city on a side street.

Immediately after this incident, access to Mashhad which had been open over the past few days was once again placed under strict control by armed personnel. The passengers of public buses who visit Mashhad shrines or on ordinary business must now show special passes issued by the city administration at several checkpoints.

A Radio Nejat-e Iran correspondent said that the Mashhad Bazaar is partially closed. Bakers and shops selling consumer goods and foodstuffs are open only a few hours a day. The Mashhad telephone system now censors public conversations and has been totally cut or intentionally disrupted at two points by city officials.

The number of detainees is mounting by the hour and due to a lack of space in army and city prisons, these innocent persons are being housed in another government building outside the city.

The reports added that the president of the so-called Islamic Republic in his meeting with Ayatollah Qomi here stressed the need for his intervention in the situation prevailing in Mashhad. However Khamene'i failed to obtain the cooperation of Ayatollah Qomi or other clerics of that city in placating public anger.

'Ali Khamene'i who had lived in Mashhad for many years boasted at a meeting of the national Security Council that only he was capable of ending the bad conditions in Mashhad. For this very reason, the president went to Mashhad in order to calm the situation.

However, even on the last day of the mourning coinciding with the demise of the eighth shi'ite imam, the dissident demonstrations failed to end and turned into more angry demonstrations and armed clashes between the people and the Revolution Guards.

The Nejat-e Iran correspondent further added that at a huge gathering of dissidents at the shrine of Imam Reza, one of the mourners opened up with a machine-gun on the Revolution Guards positioned a top adjacent buildings and the shrine, killing three guards.

In response, the Revolution Guards opened fire on the crowd, wounding or injuring more than 400.

Slogans by the opponents of the regime during the Mashhad demonstrations mostly consisted of attacks on the government and its president. The people shouted: This government is anti-Islamic. Anti-Khomeyni slogans are continuously being heard in Mashhad. A group of demonstrators demanded the dissolution of the Majlis and another group vehemently demanded the removal and punishment of corrupt clerics serving the Khomeyni's clique.

The same reports said that at three points in Mashhad several public groups, some 1,500 strong, demanded the ouster of the Islamic regime and trial of Khomeyni and all cleric officials of the ruling group. A majority of the demonstrators were young men between 15 and 25. In the attack by the armed Revolution Guards more than 1,000 young men were arrested and jailed.

CSO: 4640/158

## NVOI RIDICULES 'COMMUNIST THREAT'

TA030553 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 30 Nov 84

[Unattributed commentary: "What Is the Communist Threat, and to Whom?"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: Some of the letters we have received recently have raised the problem of the so-called communist threat, and in connection with it the problem of Iran's relations with the socialist front, particularly the Soviet Union, as well as our talks regarding these problems. At the same time, two contradictory attitudes in connection with our talks regarding these problems can be seen in these letters.

Some people believe that the talks of the National Voice of Iran must be confined to the domestic problems of our own country, and that we should say nothing about problems relating to the world of socialism, especially to the Soviet Union. Others, on the contrary, want us to analyze these problems as much as possible in our programs, and to clarify the facts for the Iranian people. Without a doubt the National Voice of Iran is the voice of the Iranian people, and should devote its main attention to their problems. However, these problems are by no means separate from the general problems of the world. The problems and events of Iran are inseparably linked to those of the world. The most important problem in the world--a problem to which the fate of mankind, including that of the people of our homeland, Iran, is directly connected--is the struggle between the two world camps--the camp of socialism, peace, progress, and freedom, headed by the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the camp of imperialism, war, reaction, and colonialism, headed by America on the other.

For this reason, today throughout the world a principled struggle is being waged between the forces of progress and reaction over the approach in attitude toward and relations with the camp of socialism, peace, progress, and freedom, and first and foremost with the Soviet Union. International imperialism, headed by America, and Iran's domestic reaction want, above all, to conceal the nature of the Soviet Union's system and that of socialism in general from the view of Iranian toilers, and to distort it by false and slanderous propaganda. This propaganda is a blend of the most trite falsehoods and seemingly subtle and hypocritical methods, the aim of which is to scare simple-minded people into believing that communism and the Soviet Union pose a threat.

very Soviet Union which by concluding the 1921 treaty, brought about conditions for the abrogation of the 1919 treaty, known as the disgraceful Cosuqol-Dowleh treaty, and which saved our homeland from being turned into a British colony. It was the very serious warning by the Soviet Union to U.S. imperialism in 1978 that foiled the plan of bloody U.S. imperialism to save the hated and mercenary royal regime of Iran, and so that it would not be able to stifle our toilers' popular anti-imperialist revolution in fire and blood. It was the very Soviet Union which harbored no ulterior motives or doubt in placing all its means of transportation at the disposal of our people, who faced the economic boycott by the imperialist camp. The moral role of the socialist camp, and foremost of all that of the Soviet Union--the first and most powerful socialist country and our next-door neighbor--can be an instructive model and example for all toilers, revolutionaries, and patriots of Iran and the world.

It is the enduring and popular force of gravity of socialist societies, and above all that of the Soviet socialist society, that imperialism and reaction, including the leaders of the fascist-theocratic dictatorial regime ruling in our homeland, consider as the communist and Soviet threat. If communism and the Soviet Union pose a threat, it is not to the toilers, the subjugated and captive nations, but to imperialism and international reaction led by America, and to exploiters and superstitious despotic regimes.

CSO: 4040/104

## MONTAZERI: PRISONERS SHOULD BE VIEWED AS AFFLICTED INDIVIDUALS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 17 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] Qom—Last Wednesday night Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili met with Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri and spoke with him concerning the country's judicial and political issues.

According to the same report, last Thursday administrative, security, and prosecution officials from Evin, Qazal Hesar Raja'i Shahr, and Esfahan prisons met with Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri. During the meeting Ayatollah Montazeri expressed his appreciation to them for accepting this sensitive and delicate responsibility. He said: With regard to dealing with prisoners and taking care of them there are two views. One is the ordinary view in the world and in the extremely imperialistic and materialistic countries, where they lower prisoners to the level of animals; they believe that prisoners of all kinds are like animals being held captive by people. They are kept for the purpose of attaining objectives. The other is the view of Islam, which, contrary to the first view, considers a prisoner a sick human being. On the basis of the Islamic view, no matter how much a criminal and a sinner a prisoner may be, except in a few cases he still has the desire to find God and truth in his basic nature.

On the basis of this view, conditions and an atmosphere must be created for prisoners and sinners that allow them to return to their basic nature and correct themselves. Therefore, prison officials, from revolutionary guards and committee members to sheriff officials and others must deal with prisoners on this humane and Islamic basis. According to this principle, a prisoner, no matter who he is, must be dealt with in a humane and Islamic manner: the crimes and sins of a prisoner must be viewed as a social sickness which must be treated with precise psychological and legal methods and training. Nowhere does Islam authorize vengeance, harsh treatment, or inhumane dealings with prisoners, even those individuals who have lost the ability to be treated or reformed and are afflicted with sicknesses which can be treated in no way except by their surgical removal from society. Islam has not authorized beatings, verbal abuse, threats, and the like; the sentences handed to them must be carried out without leniency or excess. If someone does something not covered by the court's ruling, he must be punished according to religious law; if abusive language or threats are used, it is a sin. In the same regard, he stressed that the responsibility of prison officials, prosecutors, inspectors and interrogators is a sensitive one. Their proper dealings with prisoners may set off a spark in their hearts and spirits and cause a mental and psychological change. It may make them forever sorry about the path they have taken, and on the other hand, some acts and encounters may have such a negative effect on the spirit of prisoners that they forever lose the possibility of returning to Islam and the revolution, and Islam, the revolution, and its leadership in general will be distorted and ruined for them forever.

Ayatollah al-'Ozma' Montazeri stressed: The brothers working as officials in the prisons and prosecutors' offices must know that if people are guided and reformed through their proper and Islamic dealings and return to the revolution and their country, according the narrations of the saints, their acts will be better and more valuable for them in the eyes of God than in the world and what is in it. Their acts will be based on what the Koran says, "To revitalize a single soul is to revitalize all of mankind." Conversely, if, God forbid, due to their improper behavior some people are forever turned against Islam, the revolution, the clergy, and the exalted position of the leadership, who could have been drawn to Islam and the revolution, this is actually the equivalent of killing a soul. In addition to making them sinful in the eyes of Almighty God, it will damage the valuable gains of the revolution, and the pure blood of the dear martyrs of Islam will also be wasted, and many families will be forever turned against Islam and the position of leadership.

9310

CSO: 4640/153

## EDUCATION OFFICIALS APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 17 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] Provincial educational and training directors throughout the country concluded their two-day seminar with the issuance of a resolution calling for attention from the Majlis and the government to the problems of education and training, participation by experts in the changing of the educational system, honoring the teacher, cultural mobilization in order to establish tribal schools, the return of active personnel to this ministry, and an end to the reissuing of teaching permits to those forbidden to teach.

This seminar was held on 23 and 24 Aban [14-15 Nov] at the 'Alameh Tabatabai Cultural Center in Tehran. The country's provincial educational directors discussed, studied, and exchanged views on problems and issues within the sphere of their directorships.

At the conclusion of this seminar, a seven-article article resolution was issued in which the necessity to follow the Chief Theologian and the primacy of the war above all other issues were stressed. It said:

Inasmuch as the responsibility for shaping the thought of future generations, deepening Islamic culture, and training and teaching the country's children belongs to the education and training organization, heavy responsibilities and numerous bottlenecks make it necessary that the great Majlis and the respected government give priority to solving current problems in education and training, and to give full assistance in preventing the spread of illiteracy.

Changing the educational system is one of the important goals of the Ministry of Education and training, and our aware nation is awaiting the realization of this constructive and dramatic movement. Seminary scholars and other experts, aware and experienced teachers, committed university professors, and all workers in education and training, along with the Ministry of Education and Training, must undertake to study, research and submit methods so that the educational and training system may change within the framework of Islamic criteria and in accordance with the needs of society.

At the same time, a teacher's responsibility is a manifestation of the mission of the prophets. It is appropriate for the respected officials of the Islamic republic to exert greater efforts in the practical honoring of the teacher, and to take effective steps to solve the general problems of this self-sacrificing component of society.

The resolution also said: The growth of society and the growing number of families registering children in the schools demand that the Ministry of Education and Training plan with greater determination for the establishment of schools, establishing an educational atmosphere, and training teachers, but since the procedure for determining current credit and development funds for education and training, in view of the rates of inflation and population growth, is uncertain, it is appropriate that those who design the budget for this ministry confer greater favor on the existing realities.

With regard to the tribes, who, according to the Imam, are the reserves of the revolution to whom the regime of the idolaters paid not the slightest attention, in the splendid age of the Islamic revolution these noble people are expecting to see its fruits. We expect the respected Majlis and the hard-working government to cooperate comprehensively with the Ministry of Education and Training, so that this ministry, through cultural mobilization and the establishment of tribal schools, will at least be able to fulfill its debt of obligation.

Another portion of the resolution said: With the triumph of the Islamic revolution, necessity has dictated that active and constructive forces enter the organizations and units of the Islamic revolution and fulfill their obligation to the revolution. Now that almost six years have passed since the rising of the sun of the Islamic revolution, in order to prevent a complete draining of the Ministry of Education and Training of its active and constructive personnel, and because of the critical need for these personnel, it is necessary that the respected officials of the government, in whatever manner they deem suitable, take rapid steps to return these personnel from other government ministries and organizations and revolutionary groups.

In conclusion it also said: In view of the Islamic nature of the great revolution of the nation of Iran, the great judicial officials are expected to refrain from granting authorizations to teach to certain individuals whose employment in the Ministry of Education and Training has been forbidden and not allow their presence in the sacred environment of the school, so that the teaching and training of the children of this martyr-nurturing nation will not be subject to deviation and distortion.

It is necessary to note that throughout this seminar the provincial directors of education and training discussed their views and proposals and the problems and issues related to their directorships with brother Akrami, Minister of Education and Training and other staff officials of this ministry.

With the formation of educational commissions, discussions were held and views exchanged on training, the war provinces, administration, finances, exchange of information, responsibilities, teacher training, public participation in education and training, and educationally deprived regions

CSO: 4640152  
9310

## SISTAN DAM BECOMES OPERATIONAL

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 18 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] Zahedan—KEYHAN News Service—The Sistan Dam, which was built to procure water for the Sistan area, was opened for operation in the presence of Dr Ghafuri-Fard, Minister of energy.

Dr Ghafuri-Fard, who had traveled to the Province of Sistan va Baluchestan with a group of deputies in this ministry to attend a three-day seminar for acting directors of provincial water organizations throughout the country, went to Zabol with the governor general of Sistan va Baluchestan, the Zahedan Majlis representative, and the acting directors of water organizations throughout the country in order to open the Sistan Dam, and was met by Hojjat ol-Eslam Bayani, Friday Imam of Zabol and the Zabol Majlis representative.

It is necessary to note that when the water level of the Hirmand river drops the Sistan Dam can deliver the water stored in the Zabol semi-deep well to the Shib-e Ab and Posht-e Ab canals of the Sistan area, which are 19 and 25 meters in length. Every second 30 cubic meters of water passes through these two canals, and with the implementation of this plan a great part of the problem of delivering water to the various regions in Sistan, including the Shib-e Ab and Posht-e Ab districts, which is now 97 percent complete, will be solved.

According to the same report, the minister also visited the butane tanks in Zahedan. During this visit, the executive in charge of the butane plan said: In order to procure the fuel and energy needed by rural people, seven butane gas storage tanks were built this year in this province by the deputy minister of energy in this province. Three of them, each one with a capacity of 12 cubic meters, have been put into service for the deprived rural people of this province; two others are now in the preliminary stages of gas delivery. He added: The units which were built were experimental, and were built by technicians who had attended training classes.

In the butane tanks, which were built with relatively simple technology, appropriate for the technical capability of the various regions, gas which is usable for lighting and heat is produced through the fermentation of livestock manure and other organic remains.

The executor of the plan said: In view of the area's needs, it has been decided to begin work next month on establishing a 50 cubic meter semi-industrial unit which was anticipated in the research planning.

It is necessary to note that the butane gas plan, in addition to procuring energy and fuel for rural people, produces a very suitable fertilizer for farmers, and the collection of manure improves the sanitary conditions of the environment.

The Minister of Energy also inspected the Zabol and Zahedan electric power stations and became familiar with the problems and difficulties of the workers in these power plants.

Continuing his trip in the Sistan area, the Minister of Energy inspected the dike project at Khajeh Mountain in Zabol, which was built to prevent losses caused by the overflowing of the Hirmand river, and he gave orders to project officials for the purpose of maintaining it and also delivering water to farmers in the area. It is to be noted that the Hirmand river overflows when it exceeds 4,000 cubic meters.

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CSO: 4640/153

## MINISTER OF INDUSTRIES: PETRODOLLARS SHOULD BE REINVESTED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 20 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] Qazvin—KEYHAN correspondent—Ways to turn over some nationalized production units to the private sector, the method of government intervention in industrial mini-cities, and the necessity for the Standards Institute to deal seriously with the production of undesirable merchandise were among the issues raised in KEYHAN's exclusive interview with Engineer Shafe'i, our country's Minister of Industry.

During the interview, Engineer Shafe'i answered KEYHAN's numerous questions and explained the policy for achieving industrial independence. The text of the interview follows below.

He began by discussing the prefabricated assembly and consuming industries in our country. He said: Such industries are needed in our society, but this need is not a noticeable percentage of the total. We want to know why we haven't developed the basic industries along with the consuming industries.

He noted that the conversion of consuming industries to major industries is not done as a rule; we must free our consuming industries of the need for importing foreign primary materials by establishing basic industries such as petrochemical plants and foundries for iron and other metals, which feed the other industries.

Engineer Shafe'i then noted that under the former regime there was no proper system for developing industries and there was no policy for creating basic, intermediate, or capital industries. The aim of establishing industrial units was to make a profit, and sometimes to obtain bank loans, or in other words, to plunder the public treasury.

He then said that saving the country's current industry from dependence depends on help from society, and policy-making in the Majlis, the Economic Council, and the government.

He also stressed that liberation from dependence does not mean being cut off from the rest of the world; with industrial production, we must take the non-petroleum needs of foreigners into account. Equilibrium must be established between imports and exports: industry must bring several billion dollars in currency into the country annually, rather than being the cause of a currency drain, which, unfortunately, is the kind of industry we see in the country.

Referring to the country's situation in the war and the problems of selling oil on world markets, Shafe'i stressed that currency procured through this wealth must be invested in the establishment of major industries so that in the not-too-distant future we may be self-reliant.

Concerning the allocation of part of the income from oil sales to strategic industries, he then said:

Two months have gone by since this was announced, and this is not long enough for investment to bear fruit. We firmly believe, however, that after a period of time, perhaps more than 15 years, we will allocate some petroleum income to basic investment, a small part of which will go the Ministry of Industries.

#### Increased Production, Declining Industrial Quality

With regard to current production levels and the declining quality of industrial production in recent years, Engineer Shafe'i, our country's Minister of Industry, said:

Between the years 1357 [21 March 1978 – 20 March 1979] and 1359 [21 March 1980 – 20 March 1981] unfortunately we saw a decline in production, but since 1360 [21 March 1981 – 20 March 1983] a smooth increase has begun, and each year there has been a 15 to 20 percent increase in production over the previous year.

He added: Along with the increase in production, however, the quality of products has not improved, and, unfortunately, in view of the war and the difficulty of obtaining goods, whatever is produced, whether good or bad, is bought. My advice to the people as a Muslim brother is not to buy inferior goods if possible.

He added that the Standards and Industrial Research Institute has the obligation to express its views on industrial production. This Institute must deal decisively with units which ruin raw materials, and, in my view, commit a sin by producing undesirable merchandise. It must first warn them, and then if they do not correct the situation, the Ministry of Industry must be asked to reduce or curtail their services.

The Minister of Industry also announced that a set of guidelines for industry, which include the procedure for dealing with those who violate standards for quality, have been drawn up in the ministry and will be presented to the government.

#### Procedure for Turning Over Nationalized Units to the People

In another portion of the interview, Engineer Shafe'i, Minister of Industry, answered a question from KEYHAN concerning the procedure and restrictions on turning over nationalized industries to the private sector. He said:

Nationalized industries are grouped into categories "J" and "B"; there are also "A" industries, the major and basic industries, which are taken as such over by the Ministry of Heavy Industry. He added:

The tax situation for the shares of units in category "B" has been clarified; for units in category "J" the five-member council of Supplementary Article Two of the Preservation Law is still studying the tax situation. We hope that this council will finish its work quickly, so that both the responsibilities of shareholders and those of management and labor will be made clear.

He noted that in view of guidance from the Imam of the nation, those industries which can be administered by the people must be returned to the private sector, including cooperative companies and public corporations.

He stressed that in the transfer of shares in these units, the workers in the units themselves have priority; if the workers, the cooperatives, or basic public corporate industries do not buy them, then these units will be turned over to the private sector.

The Minister of Industry then noted that the policy of the Ministry of Industry in authorizing the construction of new industries is to provide employment to the people.

He stated that the value of the shares of production units to be turned over to the private sector is commensurate with going rates and determined by judicial and Ministry of Industry experts.

#### Training Specialist Manpower

With regard to the Ministry of Industry's program for training and attracting specialist manpower for the factories, Engineer Shafe'i said:

Some specialist manpower can be procured with cooperation from the universities. One way is to convey the needs of industry for specialists to the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture but we will not soon achieve self-sufficiency this way. Concurrent with manpower training in the universities, however, the Ministry of Industry has begun training programs. In the cement industry, for example, there are people studying in the universities from the Ministry of Industry. Likewise, in accordance with Ministry of Industry regulations, college graduates in the sciences with polytechnic degrees are receiving specialist training in textile engineering.

He added: Another method under consideration is training within the industrial units, and in view of the fact that it is not useful to wait for specialist graduates from the universities and to postpone creating industry until then, every production unit can be viewed as a training center.

Noting that this plan has not yet been put into smooth operation, he said that the Ministry of Industry is thinking of establishing training centers within the factories so that they will come to be strong organizations and be strengthened.

#### Ways to Provide Service to Industrial Mini-Cities

Concerning the Ministry of Industry's plans for industrial mini-cities within the country, the Minister of Industry said:

The Ministry of Industry plans to put a stop to haphazard activity, and to assemble units in areas which have been set aside to become industrial mini-cities, where the necessary facilities will be made available to provide services such as water and power, sewage, and communications.

Concerning the method for providing services to these units, he proposed that in every industrial mini-city a service company or a partnership of the owners of the units in the mini-city be formed. This city, like the city administration of any city, could provide services in exchange for funds it obtains from individuals (or units). He added:

In some mini-cities, it might be necessary for the Ministry of Industry to supervise, be on hand, provide services, and make policy on behalf of the government. In this case I propose that 20 percent of the shares of the service companies formed by the units located in such a mini-city be

given to the Ministry of Industry, so that in return for this 20 percent share it can install a member of the board of directors in order to be able to carry out national policies in those companies.

Noting that the construction of 60 mini-cities and several industrial centers is anticipated, he said that following this program exactly will be useful in guiding and making policy for the country's industry. He added: The procurement of land is one problem faced by those who wish to construct production units, and the establishment of industrial villages will help them.

With regard to the proliferation of industrial units in the industrial city of Alborz and the possibility of operating a general industrial administration in this city, he said: With the agreement of the National Service Organization, a general administration could be received here.

KEYHAN asked the Minister of Industry why permits to construct new units in the industrial city of Alborz in Qazvin continue to be issued, despite the lack of sufficient resources, a shortage of manpower, and the fact that the Qazvin area is an agricultural area. He answered: The Ministry of Industry has no law available to prevent the construction of new industrial units in the mini-city of Alborz, and those who have received permits to construct new units choose the mini-city of Alborz because the area is close to Tehran.

Referring to the limitations which have been established for constructing production units in the vicinities of Tehran, Esfahan, and elsewhere, he said: If officials of the industrial mini-city of Alborz in Qazvin believe that such limitations should also be established in this area, provided that the Ministry of Industry also agrees that the city of Alborz has grown beyond its limits, we can place this matter before the Council of Ministers as a proposal, in order to obtain a law prohibiting the construction of production units within certain parts of this area.

#### Cooperation Between Directorships and Islamic Societies

In another portion of his interview with KEYHAN, our country's Minister of Industry discussed the manner of cooperation between directorships and the Islamic Societies. He said:

The Islamic societies, whose guidelines have recently been approved by the government, are seen as an achievement for the government of the Islamic republic and the directorships in the factories. Each of them has its own place in the units and factories, and just as the directorship of a factory is an organization, the society is also a good and valuable organization. And through cooperation these two organizations together can implement the government's policies and plans in the units involved.

He added that differences of preference in some respect is acceptable, but if this difference turns to conflict and leads to a work stoppage, the system will suffer, which neither the Islamic society nor the directorship want.

In this respect he called for cooperation between the Islamic societies and the directorships, and noted that in the event that laws or relevant guidelines are violated, the basic facts in the situation must be recognized.

During this interview, the Minister of Industry said concerning the Ministry of Industry's plans for establishing rural industries and factories:

A staff has been formed composed of the deputy minister for design and planning, the deputy minister for food and sugar, and the chief of Iran hand industries, and studies for taking the preliminary steps to establish rural industries alongside agriculture have been made in joint meetings with the reconstruction crusade.

In the area of establishing rural industry, he said that the establishment of rural industry has been assigned to the reconstruction crusade, but we believe that planning for rural industries must be done in the Ministry of Industry.

He expressed the hope that with the creation of a plan for establishing rural industry the major part of the problem of migration to the cities will be solved.

CSO: 4640/154  
9310

## INTEREST-FREE DEPOSITS REACH 500 BILLION RIALS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Nov 84 p 25

[Text] Tehran—ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY—From the initial implementation of the Interest-Free Banking Law to the end of the month of Mehr this year [22 Oct] more than 500 billion rials have been deposited in interest-free accounts in the National Bank.

Ahmad 'Azizi, Acting Director of the National Bank of Iran, gave an exclusive interview to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. While announcing this, he said: The implementation of the Interest-Free Banking Law is one of the great economic measures of the Islamic revolution. It was done in order to obey divine commands, because actually from the Islamic point of view money is a barren phenomenon. One of the great accomplishments of this law was to eliminate the cost of money for economic activity. He added: Under the new system, credit and its use has been divided into various clear economic categories. Another clear point in this law is the creation of employment and the distribution of money for investment without profits on the money itself. The acting director of the discussed public reception of the new law. He said: From the initial implementation of the Interest-Free Banking Law to the end of the month of Mehr this year (22 Oct), despite the lack of a proper public understanding of the way interest-free banking works, more than 500 billion rials have been deposited in interest-free accounts, and more than 290 billion rials have been deposited in long- and short-term investment accounts.

With regard to the payment of premiums for interest-free deposits, Ahmad 'Azizi said: The National Bank of Iran has taken the necessary steps to pay premiums to holders of these accounts; premiums will be paid to many depositors on an extensive scale. They include up to a million rials in cash, gold coins, trips to Mecca during the off season, various vehicles, and household items or cash equivalents, based on contact with the customer. Concerning the appointed time to draw lots for these premiums, he said: We hope to have at least one drawing to distribute premiums by the end of the year [20 Mar 1985]. He noted that only depositors with a minimum balance of 5,000 rials for a period of three months would be allowed to participate in the drawing.

He said: The volume of credit that this bank has extended to customers as of the end of the month of Mehr this year (22 Oct) is more than 63 billion rials, and the people used the money for contracts, civil partnerships, the sale of credit contracts, the purchase of debts, and futures.

Concerning housing investments which have been made, the acting director of the National Bank said: The National Bank of Iran mostly works with housing complexes, and it cooperates in this area with construction companies, most of them government-owned, and especially the Foundation for the Oppressed. Concerning the National Bank of Iran's international standing, Ahmad 'Azizi

said: After the triumph of the Islamic revolution, the National Bank of Iran, while raising its domestic status, was also able to improve its international situation considerably as well. Last year, for the third consecutive year, it was recognized as the largest bank in the Middle East by international sources.

CSO: 4640/152  
9310

## TABRIZ RADIO CRITICIZES 'UNREASONABLE' RED CROSS

GF271340 Tabriz International Service in Azeri 1800 GMT 26 Nov 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran issued a statement on 24 November regarding the unreasonable attitude of the International Red Cross organization [IRC]. The statement outlined the following:

The fact that the incident that occurred in the prisoner of war camp near Gorgan was the result of a malicious effort made by IRC officials indicates that the organization has adopted a stand against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The passage quoted above was agreed on the talks the officials of the Foreign Affairs Ministry held with the IRC representative. However, the true aspect of the clash was not reflected in the first IRC statement. Nor has it been considered in the latest stance adopted by that organization.

The officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran have carried out an investigation into the causes of the incident. They have heard the confessions of those who killed the three Iraqi prisoners of war. The outcome of the investigation indicates that a number of IRC representatives played an important part in the outbreak of the incident. It will be recalled that similar incidents occurred in other prisoner of war camps in the past because of the attitude and unreasonable moves of IRC representatives.

The talks held with the inmates of the Gorgan camp have revealed that IRC representatives misused their meetings with the prisoners and exploited the freedom granted to them by the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In their talks with the Ba'thist prisoners, they learned the names of the Muslim prisoners of war who support the Islamic Republic and then passed them on to the security officials of the Iraqi regime. Grabbing this opportunity, the regime has arrested and tortured Iraqi families

All this evidence and the latest hostile statement issued by the IRC secretary general prove that the IRC has resorted to certain political moves and propaganda intrigues. That organization has lost its impartial stand. Having

adopted an attitude against the Islamic Republic of Iran, the IRC is turning a blind eye to the crimes that are being committed in the prisons of the Iraqi regime which is affiliated with imperialism. As such, it has become evident that the IRC is moving in the direction of international imperialism. It has become a servile organization of the policies pursued by the United States and its allies.

The truth is that the Muslim and oppressed peoples of the world should henceforth be wary of the moves of the IRC representatives in their own countries. The true nature of these moves has been exposed in the Islamic Republic of Iran. It has become evident that the present IRC officials act like the arm of imperialism and Zionism.

Those who wish for the safeguarding of the dignity of that organization are pressing for the replacement of the IRC cadres. In this way the IRC will be saved from being exploited for political purposes by imperialism and Zionism. It will also attain a position where from it will be able to faithfully serve the tyrannized and oppressed peoples of the world without being obstructed by political conspiracies. This is the only alternative, and it is through this alternative that the IRC can assume its true identity and realize the wish of Jean-henri Dunant, the founder of that organization.

CSO: 1831/405

ICRC REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS ON GULF PRISONERS

AU291412 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 29 Nov 84

[Report by Brigitte Fuchs on press conference given by Alexandre Hay, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, in Vienna on 29 November, with recorded quotations from Hay within quotation marks]

[Excerpts] Today Alexandre Hay, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, said the following on the problems of looking after the prisoners of war in the Gulf War: "In Iraq we have, so to speak, normal difficulties in the sense that the prisoners are treated in a rather brutal way. I want to say that the customs in these countries are pretty rough, and we have to see that these prisoners are at least treated in a decent way." But on the other hand, Hay stated, not all Iranian prisoners in Iraq could be visited, as Baghdad also has secret special camps which the International Committee of the Red Cross is not allowed to visit.

In Iran the situation is completely different. According to statements by the Red Cross delegates, the Iraqi prisoners are treated relatively well, but the Iranians try to convert the prisoners politically and religiously, that is, to make them Khomeyni followers and [Saddam] Husayn enemies.

This situation contravenes the Geneva convention on the treatment of prisoners of war and was called impossible by Alexandre Hay. "Several times we have protested against that, because in the camps this results in the greatest difficulties between the prisoners who have converted and help to convert others and those who do not want to convert."

CSO: 4620/12

IRAN

BRIEFS

ISRAEL'S EXPULSION FROM UN SOUGHT--The Islamic Republic of Iran's Embassy, in a statement published in Lebanese newspapers today, stressed the need for confronting the usurping Zionists. This statement says: The Islamic Republic in view of the decisive and wise stance taken by Imam Khomeyni, the hope of the oppressed people of the world, is determined to remove the Zionist regime, this cancerous tumor, from the body of the Islamic ummah. The Islamic Republic will make every effort within the framework of the crusade for liberating the occupied Islamic land, to expel this regime from the United Nations. This statement adds: It is the religious duty of every Muslim to support the Islamic Republic of Iran and help it to expel the Zionist regime from international organisations and to liberate the people of the world from the domination of world oppression. This statement asks the Muslims of the region to exert pressure on their governments and regimes to support the plan put forward by the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding the expulsion of the occupying-regime of Israel from the United Nations. They should realize that God is with them and victory will be theirs. [Text] [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 26 Nov 84 LD]

CSO: 4640/161

COMMENTARY ON FOREIGN POLICY: ANTI-SOVIET STANCE SUPPORTED

GF291300 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 25 Nov 84 p 3

[Seyyed Humayun Adeeb analysis]

[Text] Pakistan is located in one of the most sensitive spots in the world. International experts in business affairs call the oil wells in the Persian Gulf as "sources of power" and this region as "most sensitive." The slightest tidal wave in this region can raise a storm in world politics. This most fragile and sensitive region of the Persian Gulf is Pakistan's "western border."

There are two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, northwest of Pakistan. Our other neighbor to the east and south of us is India which in the guise of a "mini-superpower" is trying to become a successor to the British colonialists in the Indian Ocean and a headman in South Asia. It has the full support of a superpower, like the Soviet Union and it is for this reason that it is becoming one of the biggest arms manufacturing countries next to the United States and the Soviet Union.

The military invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union has made the situation in this region highly sensitive over the last 5 years. The Soviet grip over Afghanistan, according to political experts, is its first step toward fulfilling the ancient Soviet aspiration of moving to the south. Later the Soviet Union can fulfill its dreams of reaching the southern warm waters through Iranian Baluchistan and Sistan or Pakistani Baluchistan and Mekran.

What should Pakistan do in this situation? Is Pakistan doing the right thing or not? What is Pakistan's current foreign policy? Can our policy meet the requirements of the time? This topic has recently occupied the attention of newspapers in Pakistan. Some dissidents consider the current policy as useless and opportunist and seek close relations with one of the two superpowers. They think that we should not remain in a state of uncertainty, and for the sake of our continued existence, we should seek the support of one of the two superpowers, even though we may have to become a tool of this or that power.

The proponents of this advice do not see any harm in handing over to the Soviet Union some part of the territory between Chaman and Mekran if we tie our fate

with this power. But those who are thinking of a U.S. security umbrella do not mind giving some military bases to this power. There are groups who oppose any deep understanding with communist power like the Soviet Union and there are those who oppose close relations with the United States because of its callousness toward Pakistan over the last two wars and its closeness to Israel. Similarly, there are different views regarding India. A majority feel that we should have no truck with India at the cost of our sovereignty and independence.

The basic points which form the foreign policy of a country are to keep in view the ideology, history, culture, geographical situation, opinion of the general public, and the domestic policies of the country. Moreover, no country should disregard its national aims when framing its foreign policy. In our view our present foreign policy is most balanced, and suitable. This policy of following the middle course and moderation aptly meets the national interests at this sensitive moment.

We may even say that any other policy is bound to harm our interests. What other proof is required of the success of our foreign policy than the support it has gained both inside and outside the country. Our present foreign policy can be analyzed as follows:

1. Full determination to keep neutral and nonaligned, and close relations with the Islamic countries.
2. Non-acceptance of any foreign pressure in respect of our nuclear program.
3. Complete and clear neutrality in the Gulf war.
4. Rejection of Indian hegemony or accepting India as an "elder brother."
5. Rejection of offering any facility to any foreign power to have military bases or military intelligence centers on Pakistani territory.
6. Insistence on getting necessary arms for Pakistan's defense and security.

If we were to analyze our national foreign policy in the short history of country, then we would come to the conclusion that there has been no basic change in our foreign policy, and that we have been all along following the same policy which had been chartered by the founder of Pakistan--the Quaid-i-Azam.

The basic principle of this policy is that one should respect each other's affairs, special relations with Islamic countries, and that one should work for peace in the world with special attention to the welfare of humanity. Governments have been changing in Pakistan for the last 37 years; people have been coming and going but no changes have occurred in our basic foreign policy. Some persons object to the present policy simply because this policy was not chartered by any elected parliament and only an elected parliament can devise a foreign policy which corresponds to the aspirations of the people. However, in view of the past experience this objection holds no water.

Those governments which claim to be parliamentary and representative of the people have often made policies which did not correspond to the wishes of the people. In this connection the decision taken in the last decade to quit the commonwealth is particularly worth mentioning. This decision was not supported by the nation and this decision did not correspond to national interests. Quitting the commonwealth harmed our national interests and we were deprived of the facilities of technology in industry, commerce, and science as well as in military and defense equipment. These facilities used to be given to us when we were member of the commonwealth. We are still deprived of these facilities. Our re-entry to the commonwealth is now opposed tooth and nail by some of our eastern friends.

Those "wise guys" who object to our foreign policy and advise us to join the Soviet bloc on the basis of the Soviet Union being our neighbor and close to our borders have presumably forgotten the past. They do not remember that the Soviet Union has played a very inimical role in the December 1971 war between Pakistan and India as well as in turning East Pakistan into Bangladesh. Despite this bitter experience people (and the government) of Pakistan are desirous of having friendly relations with the Soviet Union. However, we fail to understand why as long as a military pact exists between India and the Soviet Union and as long as the Soviet Union remains bent on making India as a "headman" of the region, how can we have close relations with the Soviet Union which is what some of our wise guys want.

We have differences with the Soviet Union on the question of Afghanistan and this difference is based on a principle and this stand of ours is supported by most of the world nations. This is proved by the recent voting in the UN General Assembly on the question of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan as this resolution was carried by 119 votes. As far as Afghanistan is concerned, Pakistan wants this problem to be resolved peacefully but the policy of the Soviet Union is overflowing with all sorts of dangers. We do not want to fall completely in the lap of the United States too, because this is not only against the basic interests of our foreign policy but in this lies the danger of Pakistan being divided between India and the Soviet Union. Besides, special relations with the United States might throw us in the clutches of a third war.

CSO: 4656/38

PAKISTAN

PAPER COMMENTS ON U.S.-IRAQ RELATIONS

GF011530 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 29 Nov 84 p 3

[Commentary by Dr Abdossalam Khorshid: "Resumption of Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Iraq"]

[Text] Diplomatic relations between the United States and Iraq were severed in 1967 following the Israel-Arab war and subsequently, Iraq further strengthened its relations with the Soviet Union. It was a time when Iraq was a member of the solidarity front of the Arab League, the aim of which was to liberate the entire region of Palestine and to set up a joint secular country with the participation of the Arabs, the Jews, and the Christians. The changes that have taken place since caused Iraq to quit the solidarity front and its policies.

Its interest now lies in the fact that it should have good relations with the United States. The reason is that Iran with its much larger population and resources has created a situation in which Iraq can only save itself if the GCC countries help Iraq with their arms and monetary aid. All of them are so inclined toward the United States that none except Kuwait has diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. They hate communists so much that Saudi Arabia has friendly relations with Taiwan instead of the PRC. Now that Iraq has renewed diplomatic relations with the United States, it means that it is inclined toward moderation. As such, the GCC countries will have no hesitation in giving more aid to Iraq and their defense system also will support it. Moreover, other Arab countries will show more sympathy toward this country.

Behind-the-scene relations between Iraq and the United States have been going on for a long time. An American spokesman, while announcing the proposed meeting between Tariq 'Aziz, the foreign minister of Iraq, and President Reagan, said that relations will now bear an open political seal.

At the time of this writing, the meeting was about to take place but it is not known whether diplomatic relations will be resumed or whether only an announcement will be made that relations will be resumed. In any case it is clear that the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries is a mere matter of time but this resumption of relations will help Iraq in its defense.

Now even the Gulf emirates are openly asking Iran to end the war against Iraq. Saudi Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal in an interview with a Kuwait paper appealed to Iran to help the Gulf emirates in their efforts to end this 4-year-old war.

PAKISTAN

U.S. URGED TO TRANSFER DEFENSE TECHNOLOGY TO PAKISTAN

GF051308 Lahore JANG in Urdu 30 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Defense Technology"]

[Text] According to a newspaper report, the Government of Pakistan has raised the question of defense technology with American authorities and has asked that the American arms technology which will be used in Pakistan also be transferred to Pakistan. Pakistan has signed a \$3.2 billion pact with the United States to pay cash for arms and also for economic aid. Therefore, the United States, as in the past, is now the largest supplier of arms to Pakistan.

So far our shortcoming has been that we have remained dependent even for spare parts on the countries supplying us arms and machinery. We have so far not asked any country for technology, nor have we signed any pact on this with anybody.

India has signed pacts with Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Sweden, and the FRG for the transfer of defense technology. The pact recently signed by India and the United States relates to the manufacture of missiles. After becoming an atomic power and after signing the latest pact with the United States, India is in a position to upset the balance of power in the subcontinent. Therefore, Pakistan should not only raise the question with the United States but should demand that they transfer defense technology to Pakistan also. This will be a test of American sincerity and friendship with Pakistan, terms which they have been repeating recently.

CSO: 4656/43

## RELATIONS WITH INDIA: 'SENTIMENTALISM' CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 22 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by Ayaz Amir]

**[Text]** THE FOREIGN OFFICE seemed confident after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination that Gen. Zia's decision to attend her last rites in person would open a new chapter in Indo-Pakistan relations. Some of the statements issued in Islamabad expressed the hope that the new youthful Indian leader would be able to bring a fresh and dynamic approach to the settlement of old problems. This was perhaps not the wisest thing to say at the time because India could have suspected that we were trying to patronise it, but the fact remains that we tried to launch a peace offensive. Barely a fortnight later that optimism seems sadly out of place as bilateral relations have taken a plunge.

### A major row

An incident which in normal times might have been shrugged off as of no importance has erupted into a major diplomatic row. India has reacted vigorously to the alleged beating of one of its officials by some Sikh pilgrims who were visiting Lahore to attend Guru Nanak's birthday celebrations. As a sequel to this incident, Ambassador Sharma has been recalled to New Delhi for consultations where he has had a meeting with Rajiv Gandhi. The Foreign Office here has issued a statement of its own. This small affair has fully revealed India's sensitivity to the Sikh problem and has also brought to the surface all the tension which lies at the heart of Indo-Pakistan relations.

The Foreign Office might protest that all this has happened rather abruptly. After all, it was only a few days ago that Gen. Zia was at pains to stress that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had fully reciprocated his friendly sentiments. The Foreign Office might also be tempted to advance this incident as another example of the duplicity of which India has traditionally been accused in Pakistan. Here was Pakistan trying its best to mend relations and open a new chapter of friendship, Gen. Zia going out of his way to reassure India of this country's bona fides. And here was India dismissing out of hand its friendly overtures.

In fact, the Foreign Office should not have been taken by surprise. It could not have failed to notice that while Gen. Zia was still in New Delhi, Rajiv Gandhi had minced no words in telling U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz that India continued to be concerned about Pakistan's nuclear programme and the supply of U.S. arms to Pakistan. If the diplomatic establishment was thinking that Mrs. Gandhi's sudden death would spell a dramatic end to the state of confrontation between the two countries, it was surely mistaken. Although amateur statesmen through the ages have laboured under the misapprehension that sentimentalism can have a profound bearing on

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*Since it serves no interest of ours to play with fire, and since we have enough troubles of our own to take advantage of India's discomfiture, it is up to us to resist outbreaks of the Bhindranwale syndrome (the glorification by the vernacular Press of the Sikh religious leader after the storming of the Golden Temple).*

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State-to-State relations; sovereign countries do not usually behave like a couple of punch-happy individuals.

### Ayub Khan

When Ayub Khan came to power, he was convinced that there were no problems between India and Pakistan which a bold, personal approach could not solve. He tried some of his soldierly diplomacy on Nehru when he met him at the Palam Airport in 1959. Kashmir and the division of the waters of the Indus Basin, he told the Indian Prime Minister, were the only two problems dividing India and Pakistan. Given goodwill and sincerity there was no earthly reason they should not be solved. Nehru responded by saying that as far as India was concerned, the three problems facing the two countries in order of importance were : the division of the assets of the India Office Library, the question of which State should inherit the British residency in Kabul and, oh yes, Kashmir. This was the Field Marshal's first encounter with Indian thinking which conceivably taught him to be less naive about international affairs.

### No basic change

Mrs. Gandhi's departure has removed a strong hand from the tiller, but it has basically changed nothing in the competitive and hostile relationship between the two neighbouring Powers. For one thing their international alliances have the inbuilt disadvantage of feeding tension between them. While India remains deeply dependent upon the Soviet Union, it views with deep suspicion Pakistan's defence relationship with the United States. For another, there is the problem of the Sikhs which after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination and the anti-Sikh riots has assumed horrendous proportions. As long as this problem remains alive, India will be tempted to seek external scapegoats for its domestic problems. Since it serves no interest of ours to play with fire, and since we have enough troubles of our own to take advantage of India's discomfiture, it is up to us to resist outbreaks of the Bhindranwale syndrome (the glorification by the vernacular Press of the Sikh religious leader after the storming of the Golden Temple).

### Steady does it

If the Foreign Office cares to remember that emotional spontaneity is no substitute for the pursuit of a realistic foreign policy, it might be converted to the view that Pakistan's interests are best served by maintaining a steady course and not by taking sudden lunges in this or that direction. Had we kept our cool and not tried to overdo things in the wake of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, Ambassador Sharma's departure for New Delhi could have been taken in its stride. The one lesson to flow from this incident is that qualities like piety and unction which succeed at home may not have quite the same effect abroad because the international environment is considerably harsher.

PAKISTAN

MEETING DISCUSSES BROADER COOPERATION WITH NEPAL

BK301433 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 29 Nov 84

[Text] Pakistan and Nepal have signed an agreement at the conclusion of a 2-day meeting of the joint ministerial commission of the two countries. The agreement was signed by the finance ministers of the two countries-- Dr P. S. Lohani and Ghulam Ishaq Khan in Islamabad today. It was also decided to have regular and more frequent exchanges of trade delegations and to encourage each other's participation in trade fairs and exhibitions in each country. The two sides felt that Pakistan can export cotton, cotton textiles, hides, leather goods, machinery, engineering goods, chemicals, medicines and chemical fertilizers to Nepal. Likewise, Nepal can export jute goods, big cardmom, ginger, medicinal herbs [words indistinct], potatoes, (?tea), oilseeds, and vegetable seeds.

The joint commission agreed to exchange visits of scientists and their participation in seminars and workshops and the exchange of scientific information and literature in the field of agriculture. About the industrial field, the Nepalese delegation said that Nepal desires to make the textile industry the basis for cooperation between the two countries.

Nepal sought Pakistan's assistance in setting up a joint training center for the powerloom industry. The Pakistani side agreed to provide assistance in this regard. Pakistan also agreed to provide some additional training facilities for Nepalese technical experts and students. The joint commission also agreed that there should be more exchange of cultural delegations between the two countries. Nepal has offered to give training to Pakistani guides for mountaineers and to porters going up to maximum heights. This was accepted by Pakistan.

The Nepalese finance minister, Dr Prakash Chandra Lohani, called on the president in Rawalpindi today. They exchanged views on matters of mutual interest including economic cooperation between the two countries.

CSO: 4656/42

## JI LEADER'S REMARKS DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 15 Nov 84 p 11

[Article by Husain Naqi]

[Text] MIAN TUFAIL MOHAMMAD, the top free man of present times, has once again talked about 'certain individuals' or elements whom he accuses of conspiring to replace the regime with another Martial Law. He chooses to be vague about such 'conspirators' even in the company of thousands of his partymen who assemble off and on at Mansoora. However, he provides some clue by saying that they through 'garbar' (lawlessness) want to create a situation in which elections cannot take place peacefully. He leaves it to his listeners to identify them.

Newspaper readers are also among the blessed to read his warning in cold print for Mian Tufail belongs to the pious who don't spread what are categorised as 'false news'. It is, therefore, incumbent upon those who consider elections to be a civilised method of choosing their rulers to identify these subversive elements, expose them and foil their anti-democratic designs.

### Little experience

As our people have had little experience of elections during their and the country's lifetime, let's first know what elections are. The exercise is to choose, through the free exercise of the people's right of franchise, their representatives. As we have been a free people for about four decades, we, through our elected representatives, had given ourselves a constitution which no one has as yet abrogated. In abeyance, yes, but not abrogated. Election rules were also framed under that constitution. It had also

guaranteed the people's right to free association and thus there were several groups of people who gathered together to form political parties. Till 1979, the right of political parties to exist was neither denied nor challenged. In fact, it was so strongly upheld that a law was promulgated for their registration and some parties, including Mian Tufail Mohammad's own, got themselves duly registered. Nobody had till then even talked about or challenged their validity under the canons of Islam. As is well known, Islam did not come into existence after the year 1979 nor are its various interpretations or the shariah and its various schools 20th Century products. Again, the pious gentlemen who tell their fellow faithful here and friends in the West that Islam did not provide for parties or the opposition were there in 1979 when the political parties registration law was promulgated. All those involved in its crafting, vetting and finalisation as also its authentication were born Muslims. Their ancestors also were good and practising Muslims. That was only to establish that the makers of laws regarding the conduct of elections under the 1973 Constitution, who also had the sanction of the people to enact laws through parliament, had already made provisions for holding free and fair elections.

### **Yearning for years**

The people have been yearning for years to go to the polls and elect their representatives through a free and lawful choice under the Constitution framed by their elected representatives. They can hardly be expected to be a party at subverting it. Mian Tufail also informs us that the saboteurs are only a few individuals or some group. That means they don't have much of numerical strength. Of course, such elements should be dealt with in accordance with law and should be tried publicly. As for their capacity, as feared by Mian Tufail, to get another Martial Law imposed, he may be questioned and interrogated about the information he has on the wouldbe perpetrators of this unlawful act. Prevention is always better than cure for the latter comes after the virus had already infected the body. Mian Tufail would surely agree.

CSO : 4600/119

INDIAN GENERAL ELECTIONS LAUDED

GF020938 Rawalpindi HAIDAR in Urdu 16 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "General Elections in India"]

[Excerpts] The general elections process will be completed in India by 28 December. On 20 January the new Lok Sabha [lower house of parliament] will come into being. The new Indian prime minister has consulted his associates and has decided to hold elections 2 weeks before then, a move which has astonished international circles.

In general, considering the prevailing atmosphere in India it was expected that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi would be forced to postpone the elections for a week or two. But he has really surprised all political and democratic circles inside and outside India. In fact, it is the continuation of the democratic process that is keeping such a big democracy together. Indian opposition parties have, however, attributed the move to Rajiv's attempt to reap sympathy and to capitalize on his mother's assassination instead of lauding such a measure.

The new Indian leadership's trust in democracy is a welcome phenomenon and we hope it will have its people's cooperation in holding the elections. A strong democracy in India will definitely be a source of strength for all those countries which believe in democracy and wish to see it flourish.

CSO: 4656/42

NEED FOR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON SIND STRESSED

GF231616 Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Building Bridges of Understanding"]

[Text] The fifteen-member delegation which is on a tour of lower Sind on behalf of the Sind Unity Board hopes to promote and consolidate unity and fellowship among the various sections of people in the province. This is a laudable objective and should be welcomed by all who uphold the interests of national unity and ethnic and regional harmony. It is now widely known, and government functionaries have also admitted it on different occasions that the situation in Sind is not as it should be. There are two aspects of the matter--apart from the broader national political question of the restoration of a representative government--which merit serious and immediate attention. First, there is the sense of alienation and deprivation which is now quite pronounced among large segments of the population in the province. This feeling is not entirely new for there are people who have for long felt disadvantaged on grounds of ethnic and regional affiliation. What is significant which the government prefers to describe as the "crime situation." As the president has himself pointed out, the incidents of violence, looting and dacoity in the province are not isolated cases of a handful of misguided people seeking material gains through unlawful means. Some people think there is at work some sort of a strategy of terror and violence even though its practitioners constitute a very small minority.

The problem can, of course, be tackled best in the broader political framework through a dialogue between important elements representing all sections of opinion on the various political and constitutional issues at stake. The political approach alone is comprehensive taking in as it does all aspects and facets of the reality at a given time. But this could take time. In the interim, there should be set into motion a process of inter-communication and exchange of opinions on the widest scale possible, even if this process is carried on in an informal style. The conciliation sought by the Unity Board could help build bridges of understanding across the ethnic-cultural divide, a matter of the highest importance. It is easy and often convenient to slur over unpleasant facts and to sweep them under the rug. But such an approach never pays in the long run. The first condition for solving a problem is to acknowledge its existence and to gain an insight into its

various aspects. For the needed awareness to be gained, it is absolutely essential to facilitate the freest possible airing of opinions and grievances, whatever one's initial view of their validity or otherwise. Nothing has done greater harm to national unity in the past than refusing to take cognisance of various interests that clamour for recognition and to allow full expression to a diversity of opinions.

CSO: 4600/109

LAW OF EVIDENCE: REACTIONS, CRITICISM REPORTED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 22 Nov 84 pp 14, 15

[Article by Emzedd]

**[Text]** IN A DISCUSSION session last Saturday, participants described the Qanoon-i-Shahadat 1984 (law of evidence) as a discriminatory piece of legislation aimed at reducing the status of women in Pakistan" and as such contrary to spirit of Islam which stood for female emancipation. The law was regarded as a weak piece of legislation because it had a number of contradictions which could lead to a great deal of confusion. It was also felt that the law would not lead to expeditious or easy justice.

The discussion was sponsored by ten women's organisations including the Women's Action Forum (National and Democratic groups), the Punjab Women Lawyers Association, the Anjuman-i-Behbood-i-Khawateen, the Tehrik-i-Niswan, the Tehrik-i-Khawateen, the Anjuman-i-Jamhooriat Pasand Khawateen, the All Pakistan Women's Association, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Business and Professional Women's Club.

A panel of experts including Mr. Abid Hasan Minto, advocate, Mr. I.A. Rahman, Prof. Waris Mir and Dr. Rifat Hasan, answered a number of questions on different aspects of the new law. Questions were then put to them by a panel of women drawn

from the ten sponsoring organisations.

Speaking on the legal aspects of the Qanoon-i-Shahadat as dealing with the question as to whether it would meet the ends of justice, Mr. Abid Hasan Minto said that the new law was a bundle of contradictions. By amending a few sections in the Law of Evidence, 1872, the new legislation could not be regarded as Islamic. Section 17 of the new law, he said, was deliberately included to lower the status of women. However, the most confusing section pertained to the determination of evidence by a court relating to a particular situation. According to him, it would create legal complications from case to case and court to court.

Dealing with the problems arising out of the law for women working in banks and other financial institutions. Mr. Minto said that women's position in financial transactions would become almost impossible. He wondered if women's position would be questioned in transactions brought in black and white only and whether she would be considered trustworthy in unwritten financial deals. He also asked as to what would be the position of women heading different departments with vast powers, including financial authority. Any piece of legislation must have social sanction which the new law did not have.

Answering a question on the religious aspects of the law, Dr. Rifat Hasan said that in the Quran, deposition before a court of law was a non-issue and there was no discrimination on the basis of sex. According to her, the Quran referred to the issue at eight places but nowhere was discrimination recommended on the basis of sex. The only example, which the mullahs gave in their argument for a lower status for women was verse 272 of Surah Al-baqr. "In fact, this verse, too, is unambiguous because when it talks about two women in financial matters, it says that the second woman should be there as an attorney and not as a witness."

### **Quran's interpretation**

Dr. Rifat Hasan, a research scholar in the United States, thought that the ambiguity about the status of women arose because the Quran had not been correctly interpreted. All those who had interpreted the Quran were men and had vested interests. They had created doubts about the status, capabilities and potential of women. Had women also interpreted the Quran, no such controversies would have arisen, she said.

Dr. Rifat Hasan said that the Prophet's traditions (hadith) should be understood in their correct perspectives. Instead of banking on one source of Islamic jurisprudence, all sources, like the Quran, tafseer, fiqh and others, should be exploited. Confusion arose when those with mischievous intent consulted only those sources of Islamic law which suited them. As for hadith, most of them, because they were mutually contradictory, should not be regarded as reliable. She said Judaic, Christian and Hindu influences on Islam had complicated matters even further. "I refuse to believe that the Holy Prophet who had said that paradise lay under the feet of your mother, would have decreed discrimination on the basis of sex," Dr. Rifat Hasan said.

Professor Waris Mir said the new Law of evidence would undermine the work of missionaries and Muslim scholars abroad. He said Islam promised all human beings equality and justice and it were the ulema aligned with vested interest who

were spreading wrong interpretations of Islam. However, he urged the women not to ignore the tradition of their society and the direction chosen by the men is authority. A confrontationist attitude and repudiation of the heritage could harm the women's cause, he said.

Dealing with the socio-economic implications of the new law, as indeed of all legislation, Mr. I.A. Rahman said that discriminatory laws led to, and sustained, social inequality. This was against the wind of change which was sweeping across the world. "The trend today is to utilise all humanpower resources to achieve socio-economic progress," Mr. Rahman said.

The Qanoon-i-Shahadat, he said, had nothing to do with Islam and should not, therefore, be discussed in that context. "The few new sections that have been added to the old law of evidence are aimed primarily at helping the prosecution rather than the defendants."

### **Essential question**

"The essential question is not of interpreting religion. The all-important question is whether we want to interpret it in order to move forward or to go backward," Mr. Rahman said. Citing examples from the Sudan, Egypt and Tunisia in the 40's and the 50's, he argued that women's rights could be enlarged by following the spirit, if not the letter of the scriptures.

Answering a question whether it would be ever possible to interpret religion in a manner as would ensure a fair deal for all depressed sections of society, Mr. Rahman said that religion had always been interpreted by the social imperatives of the dominant sections of the community. In a tribal society, its egalitarian spirit was respected. However, in a feudal society, it was interpreted to protect the interests of the conservative elite. "When in Pakistan or any other Muslim country genuine political and social democracy is established, it would be possible to arrive at a progressive interpretation of religion."

PAKISTAN

PAPER ON GANDHI'S CALL FOR PEACEFUL RELATIONS

GF031828 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 23 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Rajiv Gandhi--the Distance Between the Heart and the Tongue!"]

[Excerpts] The Indian ambassador in Islamabad, K. D. Sharma, in an exclusive interview with NAWA-E WAQT commented on his recent visit to New Delhi and his meeting with the new Indian premier. He said Rajiv Gandhi stressed the need for peaceful relations with Pakistan and that there is no other way for the two countries except to live in friendship, as this is what the peoples of both countries want. They also want to see friendly ties forged and both countries utilizing their resources for the benefit of their peoples.

What Rajiv Gandhi has said is extremely welcome in Pakistan, but the problem is that his remarks cannot be considered the axis of India's foreign policy because after assuming the reins of the premiership, he started repeating the same kind of utterances which had been repeated by Mrs Gandhi out of habit!

This sort of double-dealing by Indian leaders has been such that whenever there is a mention of friendly relations with Pakistan, the Pakistanis' reaction is: How long will it be before a contradictory statement or attitude appears! The result of such a traditional distance between the Indian leaders' hearts and tongues is that whenever they say anything pleasant or based on reality, the Pakistani reaction is usually: "We would have been overwhelmed with happiness if we could believe this!" [line from an Urdu verse]

In any case, if Rajiv Gandhi has said that there is no other course open to India and Pakistan but to live in friendship, it should be welcomed and encouraged. However, the situation demands that India stop its repetitive litany of "stock-piling of U.S. arms for use against India" and strive for the flourishing of friendly ties by calling a halt to accusations of Pakistan's intervening in Indian affairs. The sporadic mention of a desire for friendship and the leveling of constant accusations cannot continue in parallel. The people of Pakistan will be forced to air their opinions and say that Rajiv Gandhi is as myopic as his mother. He can see the stockpiles of U.S. arms across the border in Pakistan but he cannot see the piles of modern armaments in his own country which are as high as the Himalayas and which are being amassed from Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France, and the FRG, and due to which India is considered the fourth greatest military power after the Soviet Union, the United States and the PRC.

In a month general elections will be held in India. As it is a very large country, its problems are enormous. There is an abundance of poverty and squalor and despite its claims to secularism, none of the minorities is ensured safety of life, property, or honor. The discrepancy in allocation of power in the center and the provinces has given rise to differences and internecine strife and secessionist tendencies and movements. These can only be solved with tact and tolerance. If the Indian leaders resort to accusations against Pakistan and whining over stockpiling of arms instead of a strategy to solve these problems, then this campaign will only succeed in whipping up a war hysteria in an already troubled nation and contradicts the statement by Rajiv Gandhi that he considers peaceful coexistence as the only path open to Pakistan and India.

India is a very large country and it behooves it to discard the policy of flaunting its preponderance, which it has adopted thus far, before its lesser neighbors and should treat them with respect, tact, and in an honorable manner. India is not, nor will it ever be, threatened by any neighbor. The right policy for India is to woo its lesser neighbors with friendliness and to respect their independence and sovereignty and let them exist in peace!

CSO: 4656/42

FOREIGN MINISTER SUPPORTS REFERENDUM

Karachi DAWN in English 3 Dec 84 p 1

[Text]

THE FOREIGN Minister of Pakistan, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, has said that President Zia-ul-Haq's announcement to hold a referendum would pave the way for a smooth and orderly transfer of power.

In an interview with BBC on telephone, Yaqub Khan said that the decision to hold a referendum would ensure that there would not be another martial law in the country.

By giving the mandate for a further five years to President Zia-ul-Haq, a gradual and orderly transfer of power would be ensured, since the continuity of the head of State would be guaranteed.

Martial law could not be replaced at one stroke, and the transfer of power should be progressive to make sure that Pakistan should not have another martial law, he

said. Otherwise, there would be total chaos, the Foreign Minister added.

Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said that the decision to hold a referendum would provide a chance to the people to express their opinion on a vital issue — the ongoing process of Islamisation. He contended that the issue in the referendum was vital as people have different opinions about it. The Martial Law authorities wanted to know what people thought and where they stood on fundamental issues, he claimed.

When it was put to him that no Pakistani could conceivably oppose Islam, he replied that if the people's views are unanimous, the unanimity would emerge clearly and give the President the mandate to pursue his policies in a manner he had been pursuing.—BBC

CSO: 4600/125

REFERENDUM: 34 MILLION VOTERS ELIGIBLE

Karachi DAWN in English 3 Dec 84 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Dec 2: Informed sources are said to have told PPI in the Capital on Sunday that about 34 million persons who had so far been registered with the Election Commission as voters would be able to exercise their right to take part in the referendum to be held on Dec 19.

The sources maintained, however, that the process of voter registration was continuing, and all those aged twenty-one and above and possessing national identity cards could get themselves registered as voters before being called upon to exercise their right of vote for the general elections.

As for ballot papers, the sources said 35 million were being printed for the referendum and were expected to be ready by Dec 12. These would be airlifted to provincial headquarters before Dec 15.

According to these sources, the question to be answered in the referendum would be printed on the ballot paper in three languages — English, Urdu and Sindhi. The answer to the question, either "yes" or "no" would, however, be printed in Urdu only.

The colour of the ballot paper will white, except for the column for "yes" which would be printed in green. Voters would be required to affix a stamp on one of the columns to express their opinion.

Meanwhile, the PPI report continues, the selection of over 300 returning officers and more than 450 assistant returning officers has been completed by the Election Commission, and their names

would be finalised shortly. These officers cannot be transferred from their current place of posting once their names are notified by the Election Commission.

Election Commission sources told PPI that the commission would set up about 80,000 polling booths which will be manned by as many polling officers and some 1,60,000 assistant polling officers.

The sources pointed out that polling for the referendum will continue for eight hours only on Dec 19, and no one would be allowed to exercise the right of vote after polling time is over. Those who are already within the premises of a polling station after the expiry of time would, however, be exempted from this rule.

The votes, after being counted and sealed in special bags by the presiding officers soon after the polling is over, would be passed on to the returning officers who, in turn, would transfer their results to the Election Commission, which would announce the result.

Voters will be required to produce their national identity cards for casting votes. Women, however, will not be required to have their photographs on their identity cards, the PPI report concludes.

Quoting a spokesman of the Election Commission, an APP report from Islamabad says that hectic activity has been started by the Commission to finalise arrangements for the referendum.

The spokesman said printing of ballot papers has been started at the Security Printing Press, and they will be flown to far-flung areas

in addition to being despatched through NLC vehicles hired for the purpose.

Ballot papers will be sent on Dec 13, 14, and 15 to the 25,000 polling stations and 80,000 polling booths in the country.

The spokesman said that the conduct of the referendum will be on the pattern of national assembly elections. Every ballot paper will have a counterfoil to be signed by the voter, giving his full address. This will prove that the voter has utilised his right of vote, while the ballot will remain secret. Since the ballot paper does not carry the name and address of the voter, it will have to be stamped in favour or otherwise with a specially-imported ink.

He said that a hot-line communication system was being established by the Election Commission to ensure 24-hour direct contact with all major stations.

The Chief Election Commissioner Mr Justice S.A. Nusrat, will announce the result of the referendum on Dec 22, he added.

According to another APP report quoting a notification of the Election Commission, the commission has appointed the Secretary, Election Commission of Pakistan, Islamabad, as Returning Officer, the provincial election commissioners as additional returning officers for their respective provinces, and the deputy commissioners/political agents as assistant returning officers for their respective districts/agencies, to conduct the referendum to be held on Dec 19.

REFERENDUM PLAN WELCOMED

Karachi DAWN in English 3 Dec 84 p 8

[Text]

**KARACHI, Dec 2:** President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq's address to the nation was widely acclaimed by the leaders and the people at large.

Five prominent religious leaders assured President Zia of their whole-hearted support for the introduction of the Islamic system and the stability of the country. In a joint statement, the leaders welcomed the President's address to the nation. The leaders are: Allama Syed Mohammad Razi Mujtahid, Member Majlis-i-Shoora, Maulana Irshadul Haq Thanvi, Maulana Saad Deobandi, Maulana Aqil Akbarabadi and Maulana Abdul Majid.

Allama Nasirul Ijtehadi, a renowned religious scholar, termed the President's address 'most opportune and timely,' in view of the existing internal conditions obtaining in the country.

A prominent religious scholar, Allama Syed Mohammad Riazuddin Suhrawardy, appealed to the people to cast their votes "in large number" in favour of President Zia during the forthcoming referendum.

Jam Saheb Nawab Amir Ali Khan of district Sanghar, Vice-

Chairman, Majlis-i-Shoora, offered his heartiest greeting to the president for offering himself for referendum on Dec. 19.

Jam Saheb appealed to the people to avail of the opportunity and fully exercise their right of vote in the larger interest of the country.

The President of Karachi Stock Exchange, Mr. Abdul Aziz Patel, said that every member of the mercantile community would support the policies of President who has given many concessions to the private sector.

The Chairman, Pakistan Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association, Mr. Wajid Jawad, said that the revival of the private sector was the result of the efforts of the present government.

Mr. Irtiza Husain, Chairman of Pakistan Carpet Manufacturers Association appealed to the people to support the policies of President Zia.

Mr. Mohammad Bashir Jan Mohammed said that the private sector supported the present government. He added that the members of the mercantile community would support President Zia.

**Lahore**

The Mayor of the Lahore Municipal Corporation, Mian Shuja-ur-Rehman, in a Press statement said that no patriotic person would disagree with the President that the procedure decided upon for the transfer of power to the people's representatives would strengthen ideological foundations of the country and further accelerate the process of Islamisation.

**Quetta**

Sardar Mohammad Usman Jogeza, a veteran leader of the Pakistan Movement welcoming the announcement paid rich tributes to President Zia for his timely, realistic and courageous decision. He also welcomed the President's dynamic policies, which he said, had brought stability to the country and ensured its progress and prosperity.

Maulana Abdullah Khilji, a Shoora member and President's adviser on Religious Affairs described President Zia's decision as 'bold', realistic and timely.'

CSO: 4600/125

IMPORT OF USED CLOTHING PROTESTED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 15 Nov 84 p 11

[Text] WINTER is setting in and Landa is prospering. We, the proud people of the God-given blessing, Pakistan, have, for last many decades been protecting ourselves in ever larger numbers with the old clothings coming from several Western countries. Now I have found some Japanese shirts and also some markings which indicate that the stuff belonged to Korea, North or South I can't ascertain, but probably it is from the latter part of that divided nation.

For any self-respecting individual (and I am excluded from that category because I am an old Landa client) and nation it is considered insulting to use other people's used clothing. But for us, this insult also costs some 500 million rupees paid in foreign exchange from our depleting reserves and increasing burden of loans. So, this 500-million-rupee-insult is now sticking to us as more and more textile mills are coming up as television ads tell you every day.

Why can't this stop?

Why can't this recurring and multi-million-rupee insult be stopped by those who have the power and the pride to do so? Can't our textile producers and merchants, assured of the full backing of the powers that be, think of stopping this insulting import and produce some stuff that is available to the vast majority of our people? Locally-made cloth could also be subsidised by reducing or abolishing altogether the various taxes and duties on textiles. Would the textile mill-owners and traders stand up and help the people regain some of their pride?

CSC: 4600/119

BRIEFS

OIL OUTPUT RISES--Islamabad, Nov 19--Dr Mohammad Asad Khan, minister for petroleum and natural resources said that Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC) has raised its oil production to 9,000 barrels a day this year, an increase of 6,700 barrels over the last year. Addressing an annual function of the officers association of OGDC here on Sunday night, he said that OGDC's contribution to the overall oil production in the country has tremendously increased during the last two years. Highlighting the achievements, of the OGDC, he said out of seven discoveries during the preceding year, two were the result of OGDC's own efforts. A waste area of geological zone has been discovered for oil exploration in the Nadpur field, he added. He said the total drilling carried out by the OGDC during the first quarter of last year was 4,008 (word illegible) it has gone up to 12,000 metres during first quarter of this year. He said the government fully appreciate the achievements of the OGDC and will give due reward to the staff engaged in this national task. The minister said the government was planning to develop OGDC on sound footings and make it as a permanent oil and gas producing organisation. The management of the OGDC has been asked to start advance planning for the next two years to anticipate its future requirements and develop mechanism to meet them.  
[Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 20 Nov 84 p 1]

NEW OIL WELLS IN BALUCHISTAN--Quetta, Nov 20--The Oil and Gas Development Corporation will start by the end of this month drilling of exploratory wells at Loti near Dera Bugti in Baluchistan with World Bank assistance. This was disclosed at the concluding session of the two-day high-level conference on development held here on Monday under the chairmanship of the acting provincial governor Lt. Gen. K.K. Afridi. At the concluding session the conference reviewed the progress of federally funded 181 projects under execution at a cost of over 2348 million rupees in Baluchistan during the current fiscal year. The meeting was informed that six wells at Piroh gas field in the province had been drilled and commissioned at a cost of over 704 million rupees. As a result forty to 45 million cubic feet of gas is being supplied daily from the Pirkoh gas field to different parts of the country through national network of Sui Gas transmission system. The meeting was further apprised that by next month two more gas wells would be connected with gas plant raising the daily gas supply from Pirkoh gas field to sixty-five million cubic feet. It would mark the completion of the first phase of the Pirkoh gas field development project. The meeting was also told that under the second phase another six gas wells would be drilled and commissioned at a cost of

over 830 million rupees with two-and-a-half years' time at Pirkoh gas field.  
[Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 Nov 84 p 2]

MORE EXPLORATORY OIL WELLS--Karachi, Nov 25--Oil and Gas Development Corporation [OGDC] will drill 250 exploratory oil wells during the current 6th five-year plan in the prospective areas with a total outlay of Rs. 15,000 million for the oil and gas exploration, it was learnt today. According to an OGDC source, out of the 250 wells, 100 will be drilled by the corporation itself and the remaining by private companies. During the plan period, ten new rigs will be acquired. Out of these, two rigs would be supplied by USSR and another two would be purchased with the financial assistance of Islamic Development Bank. The rest six would be purchased from other friendly countries. The first of these rigs is expected to reach Pakistan by the end of this year. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 26 Nov 84 p 1]

BARTER AGREEMENT WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA--Pakistan and Czechoslovakia have signed a fresh barter trade agreement under which both countries will exchange goods worth \$38 million. Two more items have been added to the schedule of transactions on both sides. These are spareparts for the Pakistan steel mills and equipment for cement factories from Czechoslovakia and Pakistan steel mills products and pig iron from Pakistan. Besides this, Czechoslovakia will continue to supply phosphate fertilizer, machinery equipment, science laboratory equipment, and electrical goods and Pakistan will export raw cotton, cotton yarn, readymade garments, finished leather, leather garments, handicrafts, and marble products and [word indistinct]. Federal Water and Power Minister Raja Sikander Zaman and the visiting Czech trade delegation discussed in Islamabad today the possibility of cooperation between Pakistan and Czechoslovakia in the fields of water and power. The delegation proposed the erection of turbine No 9 and 10 at the Mangla dam and said Czechoslovakia is ready to cooperate in the water sector, particularly in irrigation, in Pakistan. The federal minister expressed satisfaction at the working of turbine No 1, which was installed by Czechoslovakia, and said Pakistan will welcome further assistance in this connection. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 21 Nov 84]

NEW ANTARCTICA ADMINISTRATION DEMANDED--At the United Nations, Pakistan has stressed the need for a new administration for Antarctica and said that a UN conference would be the most suitable forum for talks on such an administration. Addressing the UN General Assembly's major political committee, Pakistan's representative, Mir Bux Sher Mazari, said his country is ready to support the setting up of an ad hoc committee to make preparations for this conference. He said that the current treaty, dividing states into two groups, is unjustified, and undemocratic as it empowers the consultative parties to make decisions while nonconsultative parties have been deprived of such powers. He said the aim of this treaty is to keep most of the developing countries--which have the same interests in Antarctica as do other countries--from attaining the status of consultative parties. Under this treaty, signed on 1 December 1959, territorial claims on the continent were eliminated and the 16 signatories, including the Soviet Union, France, Britain, and the United States, pledged that only peaceful scientific research would be allowed in the region. [Excerpt] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 1 Dec 84]

ZIA MEETS EDITORS--Rawalpindi, Dec 2--The President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq met the editors of national newspapers and periodicals at the Army House here this evening. During the meeting, matters relating to national importance came under discussion. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 3 Dec 84 p 1]

FAIZ FOUNDATION SET UP--Lahore, Dec 2--A Faiz Foundation has been set up in Lahore, in pursuance of the decision taken on the poet's 72nd birthday in 1983. The foundation will undertake research and publication of works of culture, arts and the history of the people of Pakistan and their struggle for a just and equitable order. The Foundation will also organise Faiz memorial lectures by eminent authorities on themes relevant to humankind's current concerns. As one of its important functions, the Foundation will collect Faiz's writings and speeches and promote research on his life and work. Mrs Alys Faiz is the convener of the Foundation which will meet early in January to determine its priorities. The Foundation appeals to the people to let it have any writings, letters, photographs of Faiz Ahmed Faiz--for preservation or on loan for short periods. Correspondence on this subject may be addressed to Mrs Alys Faiz at 102-H, Model Town, Lahore. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 3 Dec 84 p 4]

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